

# The Journal of the Canadian Linguistic Association

## Revue de l'Association Canadienne de Linguistique

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## SUMMER SCHOOL OF LINGUISTICS

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Canada's second Summer School of Linguistics will **probably** be held during July and August at the University of Alberta, Edmonton; the school will last *six weeks*; and courses taken and passed will be accepted as degree credits. The following courses will be offered :

**Modern English Grammar**  
**History of the English Language**  
**Linguistic Geography**  
**English as a Second Language**  
**Romance Philology**  
**General Linguistics**  
**Descriptive Linguistics**

All members of the Association are urged to help make the project a success, by publicizing the curriculum and by doing what they can to build up the enrolment in every possible way.

It is expected that a limited number of study-grants will be available.

A more detailed notice will appear in the March issue. In the meantime, all interested persons should be directed to address inquiries to Professor Ernest Reinhold, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada.

### ¶ JCLA : SPRING AND FALL ISSUES :

Contributors will please note that henceforth the deadline for mss. for the Spring issue will be Feb. 1, the deadline for the Fall issue September 1.

### ¶ RACL : LIVRAISONS "PRINTEMPS" ET "AUTOMNE" :

Nos collaborateurs voudront bien noter que désormais la date limite d'envoi des manuscrits est fixée au 1er février pour la livraison "Printemps" et au 1er septembre pour la livraison "Automne" de notre revue.

## THE CANADIAN LINGUISTIC ASSOCIATION

### ¶ *Secretary-Treasurer's Report, 1956-57*

It is a great pleasure to be able to report a successful year of operation. At the time of our June 1956 meeting, the future did not look promising, for our membership was small and our finances too low to ensure publication of the journal, let alone the reprinting of the first four issues, then in short supply. The situation is much improved.

We began the year with 124 members, 31 of these being institutions, 93 private members; 19 memberships have not been renewed, there was a net enrollment of 104 members. As of May 31, 1957, total membership was 253, 60 institutions and 193 private members, a net gain of 149. It is to be hoped that having more than doubled our membership, we will redouble our efforts to grow in strength.

At the end of last year our bank balance was \$251.73. During the year 1956-57, receipts from all sources amounted to \$1,193.65, for a total of \$1,445.38. Total disbursements amounted to \$966.96, leaving a cash balance of \$478.42. On May 31, 1957, we had no outstanding debts but we did have accounts receivable in the amount of \$136.00. Our total credit balance at the end of the year was thus \$608.42. To this figure must be added approximately \$335.00, the value of stamps and stationery on hand together with some 750 salable back issues of the *Journal*.

Our good fortune in getting generous advertising support from W. J. Gage and Company and McClelland and Stewart Limited (\$100.00 each per issue) has been a big factor in our financial improvement. I am happy to announce that this support will be continued during 1957-58. Moreover, we can count on the second installment of the grant made last year by Memorial University of Newfoundland, that is, \$100.00 a year for five years.

The problem of publishing the journal has been satisfactorily solved, so that future issues should arrive more promptly than has been the case this past year. We have an adequate supply of back issues paid for and available for sale at \$1.00 each.

If we are to continue successful operations, the active support of all members is indispensable. You can help the association by paying your dues promptly, by interesting your colleagues in the association, by contributing articles, and by volunteering to do reviews.

### ¶ *Report on the Annual Meeting, June 12-3, 1957*

The fourth annual meeting of the Canadian Linguistic Association was held June 12-3 at the University of Ottawa in con-

junction with the Conference of Learned Societies. Seventy-nine persons registered, the average attendance at our sessions being forty. The sessions consisted of a business meeting, a panel discussion, and two groups of papers: the program for these sessions was published in *JCLA*, 3 (March, 1957) : 39-40. Two members scheduled to read papers, C. J. Lovell and W. Lehn, were unavoidably absent. The following substitutions were made: W. F. Mackey, "The Linguistic Determinants of Structural Borrowing," and W. S. Avis, "Judge Haliburton: Literary Dialect Writer."

At the business meeting a number of important developments took place. The members approved a suggestion that the association no longer confine itself to languages spoken in Canada, but that we formally expand our field of interest to include all linguistic studies. It was generally felt that this broadening of aims would bring to our support a number of linguists in whose opinion our field of interest was too limited.

The Officers for 1956-57 were re-elected for another year, except that H. Milnes was replaced by R. W. Jeanes, of Victoria College, Toronto. It was agreed that the vice-president of each executive be elevated to president at each subsequent election. To prepare a slate for 1958-59, a nominating committee under the chairmanship of Gaston Dulong (Laval) was appointed: R. J. Baker (UBC), W. F. Mackey (Laval) and J. B. Sanders (Waterloo).

The secretary was instructed to write to the General Secretary of the Conference of Learned Societies informing him of our intention to meet with the conference in Edmonton next year. Moreover, he was to set up a program committee for next year's meeting, this committee to be chaired by one of our members at the University of Alberta.

Following a report on the several dictionary projects having the support of the association, a dictionary committee was appointed to promote activity in Canadian lexicography, and to correlate the several projects now underway: Chairman: M. H. Scargill (Alberta); Members: H. Alexander (Queen's), W. S. Avis (RMC), W. H. Brodie (CBC), P. Daviault (Office of the Secretary of State), R. J. Gregg (UBC), C. J. Lovell (Willow Springs, Ill.), J. E. Robbins (Encyclopedia Canadiana), G. M. Story (Newfoundland), J.-P. Vinay (Montreal), Rex Wilson (Augustana College).

The following appointments were made during discussion of the editor's report: Review Editor: R. W. Jeanes (Victoria); Varia Editor: M. H. Scargill (Alberta); Indexer: A. E. Lauziere (RMC). All reviews should be sent direct to Professor Jeanes, Dept. of French, Victoria College, Toronto; all item for *Varia* to Professor Scargill, Dept. of English, Edmonton, Alberta.

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## VARIA

[ Items for inclusion in this section should be sent to M. H. Scargill, University of Alberta, Edmonton. ]

¶ 1. The 1958 Conference of Learned Societies will be held in Edmonton from June 2-17. In all probability our Association will meet on June 12, 13.

¶ 2. Important information about the Summer School of Linguistics to be held at the University of Alberta in 1958 will be found on page 42 of this *Journal*.

¶ 3. In response to a request for information about Linguistics courses offered in Canadian Universities, Professor Patrick Drysdale tells us that Memorial University of Newfoundland offers courses in Phonetics and Linguistics, Old and Middle English.

The University of Alberta now offers in the Graduate School courses in General Linguistics, Old Norse, Germanic Philology.

¶ 4. We should like to publish in the *Journal* a statement of research now being done by our members. It is of great value to know what scholars are doing. Please send such information to the editor of this Section.

¶ 5. The Canada Council has announced a magnificent number of Fellowships and Grants for Study and Research both abroad and in this country. The Canadian Linguistic Association will give its support to applicants who need money for worthy projects in the field of linguistic studies.

¶ 6. Dr. W. Lehn is to be congratulated on his appointment as Director of the American Language Institute, American University, Cairo.

Congratulations go to R. S. Graham on his appointment to the French Department, University of North Dakota.

¶ 7. J. P. Vinay has received several replies to his query regarding the transliteration of Slavic alphabets for use in the *Journal* and also for general use in Canada; the Slavic departments so far have not volunteered any information. Several people suggested use of Library of Congress system, which does service for Library work but is cumbersome for linguists to use and print. There is another system, used by the *Linguistic Society of America*; another which was used by G. L. Trager in his *Studies in Linguistics*, which are due to appear again after a long lapse; another one, used in the Slavic Supplement to *Word*; and two or three variants of a French system, mostly to be found in the *Revue des Etudes slaves*. A discussion of the transliteration situation could well be taken up at a

future meeting of the Association. One should bear in mind that our system should have to take into account the divergences between English and French habits of transliterating Cyrillic alphabets. The *Journal* does not wish to buy any special type for this purpose before a definite policy has been settled.

- ¶ 8. Les membres de la Section de Linguistique de l'Université de Montréal ont créé, à l'occasion du Congrès annuel de l'ACFAS, un groupe d'études qui présentera des communications, comme le font déjà les anthropologues et les historiens. L'ACFAS (*Association Canadienne Française pour l'Avancement des Sciences*) se réunit une fois l'an et publie des *Annales*. Les linguistes de la Province de Québec auront ainsi l'occasion de se réunir et de présenter des communications sur certains problèmes qui les intéressent plus particulièrement. Le congrès 1957 a lieu à l'Université Laval; J.-P. Vinay, G.-R. Lefebvre, R. Charbonneau, W. Mackey, G. Dulong & R. Valin y prendront part. Dans la mesure du possible, les communications présentées seront publiées dans la *Revue*.
  
- ¶ 9. W. S. Avis has a very interesting article on the suffix *-rama* in *Journal des Traducteurs / Translators' Journal* II.2 (1957) : 49-52.
  
- ¶ 10. Canadian linguists met in Madison, Wis. to attend the 1957 Annual Meeting of MLA on September 5-7. Among those who were present and took an active part in the meetings were : J. B. Rudnycky, J.-P. Vinay, A. Lauzière, J.-L. Lamontagne, A. Rigault, etc. The French 8 group (North American French) was well attended : so was the meeting of the Slavic Association.
  
- ¶ 11. J.-P. Vinay concluded in June his second series of cultural telecasts on "Speaking French", a course in elementary French transmitted by CBMT, Montréal (CBC), and 9 other stations throughout Canada. The response of the public was very encouraging : more than 25,000 handouts were sent on request, giving a summary of the course. Many schools in Ontario and Quebec followed the course and sent interesting comments. The lessons were based on a systematic review of French phonemes, but without using the symbols (keywords were used instead), a limited vocabulary based on frequency, and the extensive use of substitution patterns to teach syntactical frames. So far 39 lessons of half an hour each have been shown. A new series is planned for the Winter season.
  
- ¶ 12. Professor Ewald Hauer, Südtirolerplatz 3, Judenburg/Stelermark, Austria, is compiling an English-German dictionary of figurative language. He has asked for contributions from any Canadians who might have material of value to him.

M. H. SCARGILL  
University of Alberta

## RESEARCH IN THE LANGUAGE AND PLACE-NAMES OF NEWFOUNDLAND

by

G. M. Story, Memorial University of Newfoundland

Adequate plans for the examination of the language and place-names of the Island were conceived only three years ago; it will not, therefore, be surprising if this interim report is a more or less inadequate sketch which may at times dwell more on what needs to be done rather than on what has actually been accomplished.

Some of the difficulties we are having to take into account result from the fact that toponymy and linguistic research are not altogether autonomous disciplines. Properly viewed they impinge on such studies as cartography, geography, history, social anthropology and folklore. One of the most encouraging recent developments in Newfoundland has been the lively interest in the inheritance of the Island, and the formulation of a programme of research for its adequate exploration. But many aspects of the work are still in their infancy; and this poses considerable problems, for all are related not only through their ultimately common subject, but also by the way in which the practical problems of investigation in one field overlap with those in another.

### I

This interrelation of disciplines is seen in a particularly striking manner in the investigation of Newfoundland place-names. These form a spectrum of the ethnic groups associated with the Island throughout four and a half centuries. The brutal efficiency of the early settlers erased the persons of the original Beothic population, and with them disappeared the native place-names.<sup>1</sup> Hence, the chief Indian names are those of the immigrant Micmacs. But the centuries-long function of Newfoundland as a fishing-station has resulted in a complex of place-names to which most of the maritime nations of Western Europe have

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<sup>1</sup> The only surviving Beothic place-name is, apparently, the Shannoc River.

contributed. French and English predominate; but mixed with them are Gaelic, Scandinavian, Spanish, Portuguese, Basque and Channel Islands names, ample evidence of the varied sea-faring peoples who have frequented our shores. The relative wealth of early maps makes it possible to chart with some precision the successive toponymic structures, and greatly facilitates the investigation of their changing forms.

It is unnecessary to describe the various categories into which the place-names fall, since these are much the same elsewhere. Nor must I digress on the ingenuity, humour and imaginative fertility which, it may be, the partiality of a native discerns in our names.<sup>2</sup> It is worth pointing out, however, that for a country of which the early history is so full of uncertainty, the place-names provide not unimportant evidence of the origins of the early settlers.<sup>3</sup> It is here that the connections with historical and ethnic research are closest; and here also that the investigation is seriously hampered by the lack of a well-established tradition of local history and antiquarian research. There is nothing for it but that the investigator shall compile his own miniature dictionary of Newfoundland biography, searching through the lives and journals of early explorers, planters, missionaries and traders for the information needed to identify a place-name or determine the origin of a community.

At more than one point the work touches closely linguistic research: indirectly, for the light it throws on the probable origin of the settlers (hence facilitating the study of dialect origins), but also directly in the evidence of the names themselves. These exhibit, as clearly as the dialect vocabulary, the processes of linguistic change. Place-names, moreover, are frequently taken from the local vocabulary, particularly terms denoting physical features of the natural world.<sup>4</sup>

The investigation of place-names is being conducted by Dr. E. R. Seary, and he has provided me with a brief statement of progress so far in the production of a definitive dictionary. The major place-names have been collected and are in process of arrangement and analysis. The minor place-names are being collected from the National Topographic Series of 1.25 inch-to-the-mile maps. This series is still in progress, about half the Island being covered in the published maps. The gaps in the

<sup>2</sup> Among those that spring to mind at once are: Lushes Bight (with its subdued pun), Seldom Come By, Come By Chance, Goblin, Fairy Run, Little Heart's Ease, Heart's Desire, Heart's Delight, Heart's Content.

<sup>3</sup> For example, even if there were no other evidence, the origin of an important part of the population of the West Coast would be suggested by such place-names as The Highlands, St. David's, Lochleven.

<sup>4</sup> Examples are: Barrasway [barrasway or barachois — lagoon; or sand bar at river estuary], Tickle Beach [tickle — a narrow body of water between and island and the mainland or between two islands], Rattling Brook [rattle — river rapids], The Droke [droke — a narrow valley], Rooms [room — fishing premises], The Goulds [goulds — applied variously to open meadowland and to a plant growing in such places].

coastal areas are especially unfortunate, since it is along the seaboard that most Newfoundland settlements are clustered. It is hoped that the remaining maps will be issued with reasonable dispatch. The collation of early cartographical work to 1700 has been almost completed, subject to the limitations of our map collections and publications dealing with early charts. Dr. Seary hopes to remedy the deficiencies by visits to European and other archives. The important ancillary tasks, particularly the reading of works of travel, early histories, etc., is proceeding systematically; the recent establishment at our University of an historical-archives division is making available a good deal of hitherto inaccessible material, both printed and manuscript.

One of the most difficult problems is that posed by the existence of local names unrecorded in print. They are of two kinds: variant local forms of printed items, and places with names of oral currency only. These latter are numerous. One has only to glance at a map of the Island to see how frequently hills, ponds, streams and coastal points are left nameless by the cartographers. Familiarity with a given area reveals the inadequacy of even the most detailed maps as a complete record of place-names. It will probably be impossible to ensure a full list of such names, especially when the Newfoundlander's habit of giving a name even to fishing-berths is remembered.<sup>5</sup> Nor will close-meshed field-work be seriously recommended by anyone familiar with the inaccessibility of most of our coastal communities, especially when this study is being conducted by one person, part time. Nevertheless, an attempt is being made to use information made available by people with a special knowledge of different areas, as well as by personal visits to the more accessible communities. This is also proving helpful in ensuring an adequate record of pronunciation.

The completed work will consist of a long essay, surveying the main features of the subject. It will include a comparative study of the toponymy of Europe and the Canadian mainland as this differs from or resembles that of Newfoundland; an analysis of the origins of our place-names and their kinds; and a bibliography. The entries themselves will follow in the form of an alphabetical dictionary. It is proposed that the arrangement will follow, in general terms, that of the volumes issued by the English Place-Name Society. It will contain (not necessarily in this order): head-word, pronunciation, position by longitude and latitude, historical origin and development, linguistic origin and meaning, and references. The work is expected to be ready in about another three years, and will be

<sup>5</sup> The following names for fishing-berths are reported from Portugal Cove: *Where the Man Fell Over, Roof of the House, No Man's Land, Brock's Head, Horse Shoe, The Chair, Cook Room, Hanging Cliff, The Gulch where the Vessel was Lost, Stern and Stern* (St. John's Evening Telegram, 29 June 1956).

published as one of a special series of monographs under the imprint of the University.

## II

Unlike the place-names, Newfoundland dialects are, with two exceptions, derived from those of the British Isles. The exceptions are, a small community of Micmac Indians, dwelling chiefly on the South and West Coasts; and a rather larger French-speaking population, of Acadian origin, living in the Bay St. George area. Apart from these, the population is almost wholly from Great Britain (especially the south-west counties) and Ireland.<sup>6</sup> In quite general terms, Newfoundland speech derives its special character from two factors, one historical and the other geographic. In the first place, the very early settlement of the Island implies the 'transplanting' of English dialects of a period unusually early as Canadian communities go. Secondly, the isolation of the Island, and within it the separation of the widely-scattered fishing villages, have fostered the development of a local speech without that 'mixture' which characterizes, say, the dialects of New England, or the modifying effect of a 'standard' speech that we find in England. While these general conditions can be paralleled elsewhere, the extreme form in which they have applied in Newfoundland amounts to a major difference setting the Island linguistically apart from its neighbouring communities.

The characteristic qualities of Newfoundland speech, bearing in mind these two general factors which have helped to shape it, can be illustrated from its vocabulary. Survivals of earlier forms are not uncommon; so also are words from the dialects of the British Isles.<sup>7</sup> These show clearly the affinity of local speech to its points of origin. They also illustrate the frequent conservatism of the untutored, isolated, popular language. But of course regional dialects, however protected from the impurities of the Queen's English, are not unchanging, and Newfoundland speech, unconstricted by the influence of a widespread standard usage, is no less interesting for its demonstration of the processes of linguistic change and invention. Shifts from one part of speech to another are common. Many words have been given new meanings in their new home.<sup>8</sup> The linguistic inventiveness of the settlers is shown by the flood of new creations, an in-

<sup>6</sup> There may be people of Channel Islands origin on the West Coast, an origin suggested by certain place-names and family names.

<sup>7</sup> A random selection gives us: *bavin* "a brush faggot for lighting fires"; *farrell* "a book-cover"; *fellon* "a sore or whitlow on the finger"; *frenne* "a stranger"; *glauum* "to snatch suddenly" (also the thing snatched); *mundel* "porridge stick"; *oxters* "arm-pits"; *rames* "skeleton"; *sicheturms* "small brooks that dry up in summer".

<sup>8</sup> Thus, *Madeira* is not a wine, but a codfish cured in a special way; a *linnet* is not a bird, but a net; a *prior*, far from being an ecclesiastic, is part of a net-buoy.

ventiveness, moreover, which shows no signs of diminishing.<sup>9</sup> Such words are especially interesting for their demonstration of that older capacity for word-creation which, in the standard language, has often seemed to be weakened by a magpie fondness for foreign derivatives.

Naturally enough, local words tend to cluster around the characteristic occupations and concerns of the people. Thus, the fisheries and associated activities account for the great bulk of new words, followed by the other important factors in the life of the community, the weather, wild life, and indeed the whole natural world as it affects the life of a fishing people. The vocabulary is chiefly practical and homely in character, with a predominant concern with the concrete rather than the abstract. Not the least interesting feature of its study lies in observing the way local speech gives the experience of life on the Island a characteristic local habitation and a name, frequently in lapidary words and phrases perhaps the more effective because of their simplicity and concreteness. Caution might be exercised by visiting sociologists and psychiatrists and educators, who attempt to make an equation of conceptual thinking and intelligence. Certainly the preference for the concrete and practical has not meant any lack of imaginative fancy, even beauty, in Newfoundland speech. And if anyone believes that a Newfoundlander without formal schooling lacks an adequate vocabulary, he should consider the ways in which the Islander might call him a weak-minded fool.<sup>10</sup>

As with the study of place-names, so with vocabulary, it brings the student into touch with many subjects not themselves his primary concern. It impinges, for example, on the changing social customs of the Island, and all aspects of its economic life — indeed, the whole complex of its history, from changing techniques of catching codfish to the myths and folklore of the Islanders.<sup>11</sup>

The vocabulary of Newfoundland English is a subject which I have been investigating, and you may care to know the point reached in compiling a complete, or reasonably complete, dictionary. I have on cards what I believe to be most of the words in *general* use in the Island. I have also a fairly good,

<sup>9</sup> Again, a bare sample must suffice: flirrup "a large lamp, used on fishing-stages"; flobber "a very gentle sea-top"; gobstick "a 2-foot stick used to remove hooks from the 'gob' of a fish"; grump-heads "posts on a wharf for tying up boats"; pucklins "small boys"; puddick "stomach of codfish"; scolly "a wide, floppy head-dress worn by fisherwomen when curing fish or working in the fields"; strouters "perpendicular posts which support the front of a fishing-stage"; yaffle "an armful of dried cod, wood, etc."

<sup>10</sup> He might, for example, call him a gomeril, a joskin, an omadawn or an omaloor, an ownshook, a scoopendike, or a scrumpshy.

<sup>11</sup> As an example of the former, consider the following terms applied to various parts of a cod-trap: arms, bibber, bunt, bottom, leader, leaves, prior.

Among examples of popular beliefs and customs I have come across while collecting words are: the Hunting of the Wren on St. Stephen's Day, Mumming by jannies, a legend of the Northern Lights called the Merry Dancers.

though not complete, record of words peculiar to Trinity Bay, Bonavista Bay, Conception Bay, and the Southern Shore of the Avalon Peninsula. That my collection is imperfect, however, was evident recently when a friend, who knows intimately the speech of St. Mary's Bay, examined a sample, and found it deficient in the special words and variant forms common in his district. I am sure that it is equally deficient as a record of many other important areas as well, which, for one reason or another, I have not been able to study.

The problem of ensuring adequate coverage in such areas is difficult. Dr. Johnson, who knew all about this sort of thing, speaking of the problem of collecting words, remarked: 'I could not visit caverns to learn the miner's language, nor take a voyage to perfect my skill in the dialect of navigation, nor visit the warehouses of merchants, and shops of artificers, to gain the names of wares, tools, and operations, of which no mention is found in books'. I have not myself been able to rely much on books for the simple reason that by far the largest part of the local vocabulary is found chiefly, to use another phrase of Johnson's, 'in the boundless chaos of living speech'. A good deal of help has been derived from a number of specialist studies, by botanists such as Rouleau, and ornithologists like Burleigh and Peters.<sup>12</sup> And all interested in the vocabulary of Newfoundland English owe much to the incomplete, often uncritical, but nevertheless invaluable work of P. K. Devine.<sup>13</sup> The bulk of the collection, however, I have gathered myself with the help of students and through the pitiless pursuit of friends possessed of a special knowledge of relevant subjects. But systematic field-study has not been possible.

Friends are constantly reporting places worth visiting. So do I, when I can. But the recommendation has been made on behalf of many communities; I have a living to earn, and a lexicographer, even a young one, must heed the Psalmist's warning. The alternative must be to enlist the help of others. While the number of potential contributors should not be overrated, there nevertheless exists a lively interest in local speech which needs only to be adequately instructed to become productive. It is true that a good deal of unintelligent prejudice exists, where it should not, against local speech, especially against interesting syntactical features and pronunciations. Every village, as an English dialect collector once observed, every village 'contains a clergyman and a school master who are doing irreparable mis-

<sup>12</sup> Ernest Rouleau, 'Some Newfoundland Vernacular Plant Names', *Contributions de l'institut Botanique de l'Université de Montréal*, No 69. Montréal, 1956, 25-40; H. S. Peters, T. D. Burleigh, *Birds of Newfoundland*, St. John's, NFLD, 1951.

<sup>13</sup> *Folklore of Newfoundland in Old Words and Phrases*, St. John's NFLD, 1937. G. A. England's list of Newfoundland dialect items in *Dialect Notes* for 1925 is equally valuable.



chief'. Luckily, the prejudice does not exist against dialect words; it should be easy enough, therefore, to secure reasonably full and intelligent coverage of most areas through volunteer collectors. Less easy is it to gather information on certain subtle features of the dialects such as escape the attention of the amateur. Each year we are sending out from the University a number of students with some training in linguistic work : the inauguration this year of a course in phonetics and linguistics promises well for the future. Yet there remains the problem of casting a fine net for the local vocabulary, and hence of providing instruction for non-specialists.

This instruction will be provided in a handbook which is now in preparation. It will be quite short, and will contain an explanation of the nature of local speech and its linguistic interest; some account of the categories of the dialect vocabulary; the practical categories helpful in collecting; instructions as to the recording of words; and some account of the printed sources. This last is a subject I have been exploring with some care; it is very promising and may enable us to date words with a precision unexpected in a community which has flourished for so long without noticeable reliance on the printed word. The recent accessibility of material in the University's historical-archives suggests the possibility of making considerable use, eventually, of manuscript sources of great variety. The handbook will attempt, in short, to provide interested amateurs, and students, with most of the instruction necessary to intelligent collecting.

This should facilitate the transition of the work to a full co-operative effort, for it has become apparent that the limits of individual collecting are being reached. It also seems desirable to issue a glossary containing all the words so far assembled. It was at first intended to print a simple list of words with definitions. But the collection is now quite large; and, reflecting that it must be many years before a complete dictionary could be ready, it seemed better to produce an annotated glossary which might prove welcome as a more accurate and complete lexicon than has hitherto been available. With this in mind, I propose to include a number of features, including pronunciation where necessary, derivation, cross references to relevant items in the English Dialect Dictionary, the Oxford English Dictionary, the Dictionary of Americanisms, and the Dictionary of American English, definitions, previous listing, distribution where known, variant forms, and printed citations and illustrative quotations. It is hoped that, if reasonable leisure is forthcoming, the work will be ready in about three years for publication.

### III

The unity of origin of the early settlers, mentioned a little earlier, does not, of course, imply uniformity of speech in Newfoundland. On the contrary, even the casual ear can pick out a number of quite distinct dialects, distinguished most accurately by their non-lexical features. But when it comes to describing these, our lack of knowledge makes precision impossible.<sup>14</sup> No systematic work has yet been done on the phonology — not to mention the morphology and syntax — of local speech. Even the varying standard speech which is everywhere encroaching on the more outstanding local dialects, remains to be investigated. One problem of particular urgency is the extent of the encroachment of other varieties of North American speech habits.

We are making extensive recordings of as many varieties of local speech as we can, so that we will have a permanent record available for close study. We also plan a number of limited surveys. This may enable us to determine the precise linguistic facts, on the basis of which it will be possible to work out a system which might serve for the teaching of a Standard Newfoundland Speech in our schools, as well as for the investigation of the varieties of sub-dialect areas — both tasks of no little difficulty! My colleague, Mr. P. D. Drysdale, whose special interest this is, has already begun to work out a phonemic classification on the basis of available material. The study of the survival and subsequent development in Newfoundland of older forms from the dialects of Great Britain and Ireland is likely to yield interesting results, especially when seen in the light of similar studies in the United States and elsewhere in Canada. Mr. Drysdale proposes first to undertake a detailed study of the speech of a small area, with an analysis of its phonology, intonation and syntactic structure. More ambitious and extensive work cannot yet be considered, though a full and careful survey of the speech of the Island is something we feel to be of great importance and urgency. Its importance comes from the perhaps unique circumstances shaping local speech; its urgency comes from the rapid transformation of the social and economic life of the Island, including widespread population shifts, which in the last decade have gathered startling momentum.

Our progress so far, and our immediate plans, are quite modest. What can be done by individuals, working with limit-

<sup>14</sup> The following features of pronunciation and syntax are frequently found in various local dialects: initial [v] for [f]; [d] for [th] (extremely common); [i] for [oi]; [a] for [o] before a consonant; loss, and intrusion, of initial [h]. In syntax, common features are: double negatives; a tendency to personify inanimate objects; a fairly consistent distinction between *you* and *ye*; the possessive pronoun formed by adding [u]; the old form of the preterite preserved, as in *clomb*; or old strong verbs acquiring new weak preterites, as in *beared*.

ed funds and leisure on a regional basis, we will do. In this connection, we have been examining with interest the reports of Professor McIntosh of the techniques worked out for the Survey of Scottish dialects, where conditions resemble, in certain respects, those in Newfoundland.<sup>15</sup> It may be that for linguistic surveys other than phonological, the use of postal questionnaires of the Scottish type, sent to non-specialist informants, would not only reduce the cost of the survey, but also achieve the dense coverage made necessary by the practical difficulties of field work in the Island. Such methods might prove to be especially useful in assembling information about word-distribution so essential to the proposed dictionary, though this, of course, would be incidental to the main purpose of the survey.

But the launching of such work should, we think, be done if possible as part of a wider survey of Canadian English, especially that of the Atlantic region. And this brings me to my conclusion. I have suggested from time to time the interconnection of historical and geographical, sociological and folklorist studies in linguistic research. We believe that the special factors which have shaped the Island's history and its people, make Newfoundland a legitimate subject for independent study. But I would conclude by stressing our awareness, recent though it be, of another connection as well: our relationship with Canada, and our wish to share as fully as possible in undertakings of joint interest. When the scope of the Dictionary of Canadian English on Historical Principles is determined, and its compiling underway, its editors can count on having at their disposal as many as they wish of the historical citations being collected for the Newfoundland dictionary. And urgent though we feel a Newfoundland Linguistic Atlas to be, we hope we will not have to proceed with it except in the closest collaboration with similar projects on the Mainland. But we would stress again the urgency, and suggest, with a speculative eye on a certain recently founded cultural council, that perhaps the time is ripe for a vigorous and concerted programme for the investigation of the common tongue.

<sup>15</sup> Angus McIntosh, *An Introduction to a Survey of Scottish Dialects* Edinburgh, 1952.

## CAGE ET CAGEUX

[Ainsi que leurs dérivés et concurrents: *cageur*, *cager*, *cageage*, *flotteur* et "*raftman*".]

par

Gaston Dulong, Université Laval

*Cage* et *cageux* sont deux termes forestiers ne figurant dans aucun dictionnaire français et qui ont déjà intrigué plusieurs dialectologues canadiens. Les uns les ont considérés comme mots "du cru", les autres comme mots à bannir de notre vocabulaire.

Le fichier de la *Société du Parler français au Canada* nous servira à faire l'histoire de ces mots. Ce fichier possède déjà une cinquantaine de fiches sur *cage*, *cageux* ainsi que sur leurs dérivés ou concurrents.

Ces deux mots remontent beaucoup plus loin qu'on ne le croit généralement. C'est au 17<sup>e</sup> siècle qu'ils apparaissent pour la première fois et l'emploi qu'on en fait laisse supposer qu'ils sont connus depuis longtemps. Dans les comptes du Séminaire de Québec<sup>1</sup> le 20 avril 1693, on paye à Antoine Buisson 4 livres "pour la cage de son cajeu" et le même jour, on paye à la même personne 12 livres pour 16 cordes de bois rendues à la basse-ville.

Le 22 février 1698, le Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle-France<sup>2</sup> édicte un règlement pour rappeler à ceux qui amèneront du bois de corde à Québec de donner exactement la quantité achetée et il ajoute: "Comme plusieurs personnes de cette ville se sont plein que ceux qui font venir du bois en cajeu laissent ensuite les cages sur la grève, dont le public en est beaucoup incommodé, led. Conseil ordonne que dans vingt quatre heures lesd. cages seront démontées sinon permis à toutes personnes de les prendre et enlever deux fois vingt quatre heures après que le bois de corde en aura esté déchargé si elles se trouvent encore dans leur entier sur la grève".

Il résulte de ces deux citations qu'on distingue nettement *cage* et *cageux*. La *cage* semble être une espèce de radeau grossier fait de billes de bois reliées les unes aux autres. On peut démonter une *cage*. Lorsqu'on transporte du bois sur une *cage*, on dit alors transporter en *cajeu*, amener en *cajeu*. Le *cajeu* serait donc une

<sup>1</sup> *Comptes du Séminaire de Québec* (Grand livre, 1688-1700) p. 348.

<sup>2</sup> *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain* (éd. 1885-1891) IV : 162.

cage chargée. Le mot *cajeu* se retrouve avec le même sens en 1716<sup>3</sup> dans une lettre de Vaudreuil et Bégon au Conseil de Marine, puis en 1731<sup>4</sup> dans une ordonnance de Hocquart "Lesquels bois il fera conduire en cageux jusque dans la Rivière Saint-Charles".

Jusqu'en 1760, le mot *cageux* se retrouve une dizaine de fois dans les documents officiels. Le mot est tellement vivant qu'il servira à désigner une espèce de brûlot qu'on utilisera lors du siège de Québec pour essayer de brûler la flotte anglaise.<sup>5</sup>

Au 19<sup>e</sup> siècle, *cage* et *cageux* semblent synonymes. En 1810, Viger<sup>6</sup> les définit: "trains de bois flottés". En 1841, Maguire<sup>7</sup> écrit: "Cajeu n'est pas français, non plus que cage dans le sens qu'on lui prête ici. Dites: train, radeau, train de bois, etc." Même condamnation de Gingras en 1860 et en 1880<sup>8</sup>: "L'on appelle à tort cage le train de bois". Caron<sup>9</sup> en 1880 note au mot *cage*: "dire: train à flotter, train de bois flotté". Seul Dunn<sup>10</sup> accepte *cage*: "Mot du cru canadien que personne ne pouvait inventer à notre place; gardons-le". Il suivait d'ailleurs l'exemple de J.-C. Taché qui l'avait employé plusieurs fois dans *Forestiers et Voyageurs* en 1863.

Les travailleurs qui guidaient les *cageux* ou trains de bois sur les cours d'eau reçurent tardivement, semble-t-il, le nom d'*homme-de-cage*. Ce nom leur a été donné par le peuple nous assure Taché en 1863. Gingras en 1880, Clapin en 1894,<sup>11</sup> et Dionne en 1909<sup>12</sup> signalent cette expression.

Assez tôt, sans doute, *Homme-de-cage*, eut un concurrent d'origine populaire: *cageux* signalé par Dunn en 1880. Il semble, en effet, que la forme *cageur* consignée par Clapin et par Dionne soit une forme corrigée.

Nous trouvons un second concurrent à *homme-de-cage*: *flotteur*. Nous sommes là en présence d'une formation savante employée pour la première fois par Louis Fréchette, *Originaux*

<sup>3</sup> Lettre de Vaudreuil et Bégon au Conseil de Marine, 14 oct. 1716, *RAPQ* (1947-48) : 323.

<sup>4</sup> *Edits et ordonnances royaux* : II : 348.

<sup>5</sup> Relation anonyme du siège de Québec, 1759 ou 1760. *RAPQ* (1937-38) : 5, 7, 11, 13.

<sup>6</sup> Jacques Viger, *Néologie canadienne*... parue dans *BPF*, v. 8 (1909).

<sup>7</sup> (L'Abbé Thomas Maguire) *Manuel des difficultés les plus communes de la langue française, adapté au jeune âge, et suivi d'un recueil de locutions vicieuses*. 1841. II-184 pp.

<sup>8</sup> J.-F. Gingras, *Manuel des expressions vicieuses les plus fréquentes*, Ottawa, 1880. vi-61 pp. (La première édition est de 1860.)

<sup>9</sup> L'Abbé N. Caron, *Petit vocabulaire*... Trois-Rivières, 1880. 63 pp.

<sup>10</sup> Oscar Dunn, *Glossaire franco-canadien*... Québec, 1880. xxv-199 pp.

<sup>11</sup> Sylva Clapin, *Dictionnaire canadien-français*... Montréal, 1894. xlii-389 pp.

<sup>12</sup> Dionne, *Le Parler populaire des Canadiens français*, Québec, 1909.

et *détraqués* en 1892. Ce même mot se retrouve dans Clapin et dans Dionne.

Il reste à signaler un dernier concurrent d'*homme-de-cage*. Il s'agit de *raftman*, un anglicisme, signalé d'abord par Gingras en 1880 puis par Dionne en 1909.

Le mot *cage* a dû assez tôt donner naissance à *cager* (lier ensemble des billes de bois pour en faire un cageux) et à *cageage* (action de cager du bois). Notre plus ancienne citation ne remonte actuellement qu'à 1863; nous la devons à J.-C. Taché.

De tous ces mots, quelques-uns sont déjà morts. Le mot *cageux* au sens d'homme qui conduisait les trains de bois est presque moribond. Seuls les vieillards de Sillery connaissent encore ce mot. *Cage* est cependant encore très vivant au sens de pile de planches ou de madriers en échiquier. Il en est de même du verbe *cager*. A beaucoup d'endroits dans le Québec, on fait des cages de planches, on cage de la planche ou des madriers.

Notre travail sur cage et cageux ne doit pas s'arrêter ici: nous comptons trouver encore plusieurs citations anciennes qui permettront peut-être de faire remonter ces mots plus loin encore dans le passé. L'histoire d'un mot est rarement finie.

## THE CANADIAN SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS<sup>1</sup>

by

George M. Cowan, Caronport, Sask.

The Canadian Summer Institute of Linguistics is a training school offering an introductory course in descriptive, structural linguistics. The curriculum includes phonetics, phonemics, morphology, syntax, and a series of lectures on related field problems. Each of the five divisions is given the equivalent of 55 classroom hours, an hour a day, five days a week, over an 11 week period.

The overall aim is to prepare the student for field work, especially in areas where no, or very little, linguistic work has been done. For this reason the emphasis in phonetics is on hearing, reproduction, and transcription. This is done in small drill groups with each student receiving as much individual help as possible. Sections are usually limited to eight students per instructor. The instructors take the students through the range of possibilities of speech sounds, explaining with diagrams and demonstrations the manner in which such sounds are made. Drills are then given on those most commonly known to occur in various languages of the world. Special exercises are used to help the students gain the muscular flexibility and coordination necessary to produce the sounds with reasonable accuracy and fluency in a context of other sounds. Some recorded materials are used as supplementary to the classroom work.

The emphasis in phonemics, morphology and syntax is on the acquisition of analytical method and development of descriptive statement. Students and instructors work together through a series of graded language problems in laboratory style. Some of the problems are hypothetical. Others are actual language data but restricted to illustrate some specific point without involving all the complexities of a full scale language situation. Before the course is over the student is given an opportunity to work with an informant who speaks a language which the student has not hitherto studied. The methods taught with limited data problems must now be applied to

<sup>1</sup> The following is essentially the text of the paper of the same title read to the Canadian Linguistic Association, June 12, 1957.

unlimited data, based on his own transcriptions and calling for his own ingenuity to a large degree in organizing and processing the data. He soon learns how complex the real field situation can be compared to the step-by-step classroom introduction.

Related field problems dealt with include: the preparation of literacy materials building on a prior linguistic analysis of a language, problems encountered in translating from one language to another, and a short series of lectures relating the linguistic studies to the larger field of cultural anthropology. These serve to point out to the students the advisability of an orientation in anthropological theory and method for a more effective program of research and applied linguistics. The field methods include also a demonstration of the monolingual approach (learning a language by gesture where no intermediate or common language available) and the two-week field assignment referred to above to give the student practice in working with informants, recording and processing of data, and the filing of lexical and grammatical material. During this time he is also expected to put into practice the assimilation techniques taught by actually learning to use greetings, common questions, and the simpler sentence types of the language. Oral as well as written tests are given at the end of the two-week assignment.

The textbooks and reference books for the course include: *Phonetics*, *Phonemics*, *Tone Languages*, *The Intonation of American English*, and *Language in relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior* by K. L. Pike; *An Introduction to the Study of Grammatical Structure* by V. Pickett; *Linguistic Interludes*, *Morphology*, and *Bible Translating* by E. A. Nida; and *Handbook of Literacy* by S. Gudschinsky. Other recognized works in the field of present day descriptive linguistics as well as the main linguistic journals are also available in the Institute's library.

The Institute is at present located on premises just west of Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan. Informants for the field assignments have been drawn at various times from speakers of the Blackfoot, Assiniboine, Sioux, Cree, Chipewyan and Eskimo languages. The Institute has been in operation since 1944. To date 379 Canadians and 141 Americans have attended the courses

In addition to the regular course already described, the Canadian Institute offers to organizations working among Canadian aboriginal groups, a workshop program. Under the direction of one or more staff members, with informants present, field workers with some linguistic background are given opportunity for further intensive assimilation and analysis and



are given guidance in the preparation of pedagogical materials and the solution of translation difficulties. In this program one such summer's work each has been given to Cree, Chipewyan and Eskimo. Orthographic difficulties and analytical problems were dealt with, and some were stimulated to prepare articles for publication. In each case several lessons of a beginner's course in the language were drafted in detail and further lessons sketched in outline to be elaborated later on the field. For example, a course in Cree was thus outlined at the Institute, later finished by the field workers and put into use in their mission language school. It contains 60 lessons, approximately 200 pages of mimeographed data, grammatical explanations and special exercises to give mastery of the phonological and grammatical structure of the language. The book is meant to be used with a Cree speaking informant present. The emphasis is primarily on mastery of the spoken form, in full utterances in useful contexts, with grammatical and orthographical notes introduced only where pertinent to reenforce the oral control and learner's understanding.

Inasmuch as the *Canadian Summer Institute of Linguistics* is an integral part of a much larger international organization, known as the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Inc., its contribution to date, and its potential for the future, can only be understood and properly evaluated in terms of this larger operation.

The larger Summer Institute of Linguistics program has two major divisions: a linguistic training program and linguistic field work. The training program is carried on under the direction of Dr. Kenneth L. Pike. The Institute operates five schools: one at the University of Oklahoma, one at the University of North Dakota, one in Australia, one in England, and one in Canada. The basic training given at all branches is essentially as I have described it for the Canadian branch. At the University of Oklahoma and the University of North Dakota a second summer of more advanced study is also offered. In this the emphasis is upon extensive rapid reading of important articles in the field, seminar discussions of difficult theoretical problems, much more extensive informant work throughout the entire summer with fuller discussion of classification and presentation of larger amounts of language data. Where affiliated with a university, each summer's work is recognized for ten units credit at the graduate level.

The Summer Institute of Linguistics also conducts a field research program. At present field work is being done in over 150 aboriginal languages of 10 countries: Mexico, Guatemala, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Brazil, the Philippines, New Guinea, the United States, and Canada. Field personnel not only gather

language data for descriptive and comparative purposes but also seek to serve in practical ways the people whose language they study by preparing literacy materials, teaching them to read, providing them with reading material of high moral and patriotic value including translations of portions of the Bible, and in general seeking to serve them in ways which they believe will best promote the common good. In several countries this program is carried on in close cooperation with the government services as well as with the national educational and scientific institutions. When requested, assistance has been given in the training of rural school teachers among aboriginal groups, technical assistance has been given the government literacy programs in matters involving the tribal languages, and courses in linguistics have been given nationals going into service in such areas.

Of those who take the linguistic training offered in the five Summer Institute of Linguistics schools, only about one in seven apply and are accepted for the Institute's own field research program. The great majority of the students ultimately serve with other organizations. At the present time there are more than fifty Canadians actively engaged in some phase of the Summer Institute of Linguistics field operation.

The teaching staff of the five Institutes is drawn almost entirely from our own field personnel. In a carefully planned and executed system of junior staff development, coupled with encouragement to senior staff to take graduate studies elsewhere, the Institute has largely produced its own staff. At the same time it has sought to keep abreast of the latest advances in linguistic science. The total staff includes at least 14 Canadians.

The teaching staff of the Canadian branch is not static but is composed of both Americans and Canadians drawn from the total staff available for all the Institutes. Each year the staff assignments are rotated somewhat. This gives the staff member a more varied experience. Each branch profits by having the cross-fertilization of ideas and methods provided by staff who have taught elsewhere. It also serves to maintain the basic similarity of the courses in all the branch Institutes as well as keep them constantly developing. For example, under this system, the Canadian school has had the benefit of instruction at various times, for longer or shorter periods, by such instructors as K. L. Pike, E. A. Nida, W. Wonderly, R. S. Pittman, R. Longacre, E. V. Pike, G. M. Cowan, H. Law, K. Keller, D. Olson and others. The greater part of the teaching, especially in the small sections, is done by junior staff who are put through a rigorous staff briefing before each lesson to ensure that the same teaching standards are maintained throughout.

The data gathered by Summer Institute of Linguistics field workers is made available through recognized technical journals and private publications. 25 books, 52 general technical articles, 156 articles on specific languages, and 452 literacy items (primers, supplementary reading books, bilingual books to aid in transition to another language), dealing with a total of 70 different languages and dialects, have already (as of June, 1955 that is) appeared in some of the leading scientific journals of the Americas, Europe and the Orient. A considerable number have appeared in the *International Journal of American Linguistics* which for the last several years has averaged one article per issue by a Summer Institute of Linguistics field worker. A forthcoming issue I understand will consist of articles, all of which are by Summer Institute of Linguistics members.

It will be of interest to this Association to note, that, of the 159 different authors listed in the Bibliography of the Institute, 21 were Canadians who had published 38 research and literacy items on five languages of Mexico, one of Guatemala, eight of South America, and six of the Philippines. Such articles as: "Aguacateco (Mayan) Phonemes" by the McArthur's, "The Tonemes of Mezquital Otomi" by Sinclair and Pike, "Mazateco Whistle Speech" by Cowan, "Notes on Cebuano Syntax" by the Meiklejohns, "Grammatical Outline of Kraho" and "Cashibo Verb Gramemics" (to appear in the next issue of *IJAL*) by Shell, "Amuesha Phonemes" by Fast, and "Sound Correspondences in Six Philippine Languages" by Newell, which have appeared at various times in *IJAL*, *Language* and *Folklore Studies*, Tokyo, are some of the contributions made by our Canadian personnel.

It remains to point out ways in which the Canadian Summer Institute of Linguistics together with the Summer Institute of Linguistics of which it is a part, and the Canadian Linguistic Association may be mutually helpful in furthering linguistic training and research in Canada, and by Canadians whether in Canada or abroad.

I believe we are all agreed that anthropologists, Indian service personnel, and missionaries working in areas where tribal languages are still in use, would profit greatly by having some orientation in linguistics, and would in turn be able to make a greater contribution "to the scientific study of language and languages, particularly of the written and spoken languages of Canada", in other words, further the aims of this Association. The lack of courses in linguistics in many of our Canadian Universities has been pointed out by this Association and steps taken to try to remedy the situation. As has been pointed out already, the Canadian Summer Institute of Linguistics offers such training, and on a level recognized by American Universities

and by the Linguistic Society of America. It would help us in selling the idea to Canadian students to be able to assure them that our courses as offered in Canada were recognized by Canadian universities for credit. Several students at one time or another have enquired about credit for the course and have expressed disappointment that, although equivalent training in the States was recognized by American universities, the same course as offered in Canada was not similarly recognized by Canadian universities. Once on the course and convinced of the advantages of linguistics training, the more promising students could be encouraged to continue their studies in the specialized departments of the University of their choice and at the Linguistic Institute sponsored by this Association. In a private communication recently Mr. Avis deplored "the few candidates for linguistic studies among Canadian students." We would like to be able to help remedy this situation.

We hope that more of those who take our training will devote themselves to field work among our Canadian aboriginal groups. D. H. Hymes, reviewing "Papers from the Symposium of American Indian Linguistics", *Language* Vol. 32, number 3, pointed out that "more than one language has disappeared unrecorded within easy distance of a leading university." The Introduction to the *Report* of this same Symposium stressed the fact (p. 1, 2) that "description then, must for the time being remain the great need in American Indian linguistics." By training and sending more workers into these areas this need not be true of our Canadian tribes. The Courses offered by our Institute prepare a person to make a contribution at this level.

We hope to be able to contribute manuscripts on Canadian languages to the readers of the *Journal* of this Association. One small item on Cree by Dr. Longacre appears in this very issue. This, in addition to one or two others in process of preparation, are largely the product of our workshop program. Canadian members working abroad can also be encouraged to submit manuscripts.

We hope that some of our members will not only be able to attend but also to read papers in coming meetings of the Association. The announcement of next year's meeting for Edmonton will definitely facilitate this for us. Perhaps sometime we might be in a position to play host to the annual meeting of the Association.

Specialists in various fields frequently remind us that a great deal of the data with which they must work is old, often incomplete, and at times of dubious reliability. Fresh studies, broader samplings by work in related dialects, more extensive word lists phonemically written, more detailed grammatical out-

lines and further data on obscure points, and these by field workers trained in our present-day descriptive methods, are needed. For example, an Athapaskan conference with Dr. Hoijer has been suggested, but awaits the gathering of further data. Our field workers both in the United States and Canada will, we expect, be able to make a contribution at this point.

New theoretical approaches must be applied to a wide variety of language structure to test their general validity. Lexical material from several of our workers in Mexico proved valuable in testing Swadesh's lexico-statistical dating hypothesis. The comparative work on Mazateco dialects by Miss Gudschinsky showed how dialect borrowing may skew the lexico-statistical picture. Dr. Pike's gramemic theory is now being tried by members of our organization and former students on languages as diverse as the Cashibo of Peru and the Eskimo of Canada. Just so we believe work being commenced on other languages of Canada may prove useful also.

Sometimes governments, before giving material encouragement to scientific research, need to be convinced of the "practical" gains which may be expected in line with their own objectives. The governments of the United States, of Latin American republics, and of the Philippines, have expressed their appreciation for the practical benefits of our linguistic work in their tribal areas, in promoting literacy, in aiding the tribes-people in their transition from isolation to incorporation into the life of the nation, in the eradication of fear, superstition and vice, and in serving their government personnel and aiding their government programs on behalf of these people. Their appreciation has been expressed not merely in words but in very practical ways which have greatly facilitated in turn the linguistic studies being carried on. Our field workers, who not only do analytical work but are also required to learn to speak the language, live among the people for extended periods of time. They are ready to be of just such service to the people, to the government agencies, and to all who are working for the betterment of the Indian. In this way, we trust, that over a period of time they may contribute materially to the estimate in which our linguistic science is held by those agencies of our own Canadian government that might help us.

These are some of the ways in which we hope to be able to contribute to the advancement of linguistic studies in Canada. We believe the benefit will not be one-sided but that we in turn will profit by having the understanding, cooperation and backing of this Association in carrying forward these several projects.

## QUALITY AND QUANTITY IN CREE VOWELS

by

Robert Longacre, Summer Institute of Linguistics

1. The purpose of this paper is to describe in detail allophonic variation in Cree vowels so as to exhibit certain correlations between quality and quantity.<sup>1</sup> The phonemically short vowels have considerable allophonic variation and this paper will be concerned to a large degree with their description. The pertinent conditioning factors<sup>2</sup> will be stated in terms of (a) particular consonants preceding or following the vowel sounds in questions, and (b) the position of the vowel in the phonological word — a rhythm-stress unit bounded by potential pause.

1.1 There are four distinctive vowel qualities: /i/, /e/, /o/, and /a/. Of these four, /i/, /o/, and /a/ may occur as phonemically long or phonemically short vowels — resulting in

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1. The data for this paper were collected during the summer of 1952 at the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Caronport, Saskatchewan, Canada. Three informants, ranging in age from fifty to sixty-six years were used. Two were from La Rouge, Sask., and were sisters: Mrs. Angelique Ross, and Mrs. Sarah Ballentyne. The other informant, Mr. Peter Wuttannee, was from Sweet Grass, Sask. Of the three informants, Mrs. Ross seemed to use the fronted [æ] allophone of /a/ more than any other informant; while Mr. Wuttannee seemed to use it the least. Probably all the data collected here represent a rather precise style of speech which should be compared with more rapid speech forms. This paper pretends to do nothing more than to describe certain correlations of quality and quantity in the sort of data here analyzed. However, on the basis of sporadic observations of more rapid styles — in recorded text and in overheard conversation between informants — I would hazard the conjecture that the qualitative-quantitative variation in inverse proportion as here described holds in more rapid styles as well. General rapid rate of utterance seems to accentuate qualitative differences between long and short vowels except in syllables receiving intonational stress and lengthening — in which case the opposite tendency sets in.

2. Bloomfield did not apparently attempt to describe any specific conditioning factors for the Cree allophones that he describes (See introduction to *Sacred Stories of the Sweet Grass Cree*, National Museum of Canada, Ottawa, 1930). Notice his description of /i/ (p. 7): "i short, high front vowel, as in English *pin*, varying all the way to the type of French *fini*". However, since the various allophones of /i/ do not vary freely with each other in all positions, it seems imperative that some attempt be made to state more precise conditions. Bloomfield's summary statements regarding Cree vowels bear evidence to his dependable linguistic intuition.

three pairs of vowel phonemes. Together with /e/, which is possibly undifferentiated as to long-short distinction,<sup>3</sup> they comprise a seven vowel system. The long vowels and /e/ have more the usual phonetic values indicated by their symbols except that /a/ varies from low front to low central (or slightly backed): pi:sim, *sun*; takawa:kin, *autumn*; o:si, *canoe*; eha?, *yes*.

2. *Allophonic variation before specific consonants.* Statements here in terms of particular consonants take precedence over the general statements given in further sections.

2.1 The short vowel /i/ is consistently high close, i.e. [i] before /y/ in any position: kahkiya:w, *all*; niyana:n, *our*; ni:piy, *leaf*.

2.2 The phoneme /a/ remains low central [a] or is slightly raised to [a<sup>^</sup>] when preceding /h/: ta:ntahto, *how many?*; mahti, *please*; kahkiyaw, *all*.

2.3 Again, /i/ is consistently high close before /w/ except in ultimate syllables (ultimate in reference to the rhythm-stress unit): kisiwa:siw, *be angry!*; ositiwa:wa, *their feet*. Similarly, /a/ often has the quality [a<sup>^</sup>] before /w/: awa:sis, *child*.

2.4 Before clusters of /s/ plus stop or labialized stop the allophones [ɪ] of /i/, and [ʌ] of /a/ occur in speech of normal rapidity: wa:piskaw, *white*; mistik, *tree*; tanispi, *when?*; astotin, *hat*; wacaskak, *rat*; nistwam, *twice*.

3. *Allophonic variation according to position in the rhythm-stress unit.* In describing these variations it is necessary to consider the position of the syllable relative to the phonetic stress, as well as its position in terms of number of syllables from the end of the rhythm-stress unit — which will for convenience be referred to simply as the *word* in the rest of this paper.

3.1 Stress is presumably non-phonemic.<sup>4</sup> Although all the factors conditioning it are not fully understood, the following

3. Since the writing of the main body of this paper some evidence has accumulated that vowel quality /e/ may also occur as long or short phonemically. Notice the following pair of words: e:ka, *now*; eha?, *yes*. However, since the short vowel phoneme /e/ has no marked qualitative variants its discussion is not particularly pertinent in this paper, where we are attempting to correlate such qualitative variants with variations in quantity. Bloomfield listed only long /e:/ (with symbol ä) in Sweet Grass Cree (p. 6).

4. Bloomfield's statement concerning the occurrence of stress is rather over-simplified: "A non-significant stress accent falls on the third syllable from the end of words or close-knit phrases." Actually a high pitch (part of the unanalyzed intonational system) occurs a good deal more regularly on the antepenultimate syllable than the stress itself which may occur on either the antepenultimate or penultimate syllables.



tentative statements may be made: (a) Disyllabic words are stressed on the last syllable<sup>5</sup>: *astam, come!*; *ekwa, now*. (b) Trisyllabic words are stressed on the antepenultimate syllable unless the penult contains a long vowel: *niyana:n* ['niyaːna:n], *five*; *niya:na:n* [ni'ya:na:n], *our*. (c) Secondary stresses occur in alternate syllables preceding and following the primary stress; the following example is written phonemically except for the indication of stress: *ki,taya'mihci,ka:n, you're reading*.

3.2 The phonetic lengths of both long and short vowels vary somewhat in various positions within the word<sup>6</sup>—although the relative quantitative contrasts are every where preserved. The longest phonetic lengths of both long and short vowels are often heard in penultimate syllables. Here, in words of three or more syllables, the greatest relative differential between long and short vowels seems to occur; since stress, falling regularly on a long vowel in this position, tends to further lengthen a long vowel phonetically, while a short vowel in the same position is usually stressless. Nevertheless, even short vowels tend here to be slightly lengthened phonetically. On the contrary, the shortest phonetic lengths in both long and short vowels often occur in ultimate syllables. A phonemically long vowel in this position sometimes sounds not much longer phonetically than a phonemically short vowel in a penultimate syllable. In antepenultimate syllables the vowels are probably of a short or intermediate length phonetically. In syllables still previous to the antepenult (i.e. in long polysyllabic words) a slightly lessened speed of utterance may occur, resulting in a slight phonetic lengthening of the vowels in those syllables.

4. *To summarize*: For both phonemically long and phonemically short vowels the greatest phonetic lengths occur in the penultimate syllable; the shortest degrees of length occur in ultimate syllables; intermediate lengths occur in antepenultimate syllables; while syllables still previous in the word are usually rather short, but may occasionally receive a slight lengthening under reduced speed of utterance.

5. In this and the following paragraphs these varying phonetic lengths are correlated with certain qualitative allophonic varia-

5. Although the stress seems to fall regularly on the last syllable of disyllabic words, the pitch of the last syllable may be either lower or higher than that of the first syllable. With intonational pattern low-high, the utterance seems to be more emphatic; while with intonational pattern high-low it is more casual: *ástám, come!* (urgently), *ástám, come!* (somewhat casually).

6. No attempt is made here to illustrate with examples these impressionistic observations about phonetic variations in vowel length. Such phonetic minutiae are difficult to symbolize without employing a notation which gives the impression of more exactness than I would care to imply.



tions. In ultimate syllables, where the shortest phonetic lengths occur, there is a considerable qualitative difference between long and short vowels. The long vowels, as described above, are [i:], [a:], and [o:] with the usual phonetic values of these symbols; examples here follow of these long vowels in ultimate syllables: *waskawi:w*, *he moves*; *eh-nipaya:n*, *if I'm sleeping*; *mito:n*, *my mouth*. The short vowel /i/ has the quality of [ɪ] : /a/ has the quality of [ʌ] (i.e. a mid central vowel of neutral timbre); while /o/ in closed syllables has the quality of [ʊ] (a more central and low vowel than is usually indicated by this phonetic symbol): *kimotiw* ['kimmotiw], *he steals*; *eh-nipayan* [eh'nippaːˈɣan]<sup>7</sup>, *if you're sleeping*; *pipon* [pip'pun], *winter*.

5.1 In penultimate syllables, where the longer phonetic lengths of both long and short vowels occur, there is the least qualitative difference between long and short vowels. Notice the following examples of long vowels in this position: *ni:piy*, *leaf*; *piyi:sis*, *little bird*; *ma:to*, *cry!*; *o:ta*, *over here*. For the short vowels /i/ and /a/ one is more likely to record [ĩ] and [ã] than in other positions: *ki:sika:w* ['ki:sĩ'ka:w], *it's day*; *asapa:p* ['assaːpa:p], *thread*. The short vowel /o/ does not perceptibly differ in quality from long /o:/ here: *oho*, *owl*.

5.2 In antepenultimate syllables, where the intermediate phonetic lengths of both long and short vowels occur, the short vowels /i/, /a/, and /o/ differ somewhat in quality from the long vowels much in the fashion described for ultimate syllables. However, /i/ varies somewhat from [ĩ] to [ɪ] with the former occurring often before a stressed penult: *saskisoci* [sas'kissoci], *if it starts to burn*; *ocipa:son* [oːcip'pa:sun], *button*; *kisiti-na:sa:w* [kisisittiː'na:wa:w], *our (incl.) feet*. Furthermore, while the vowel /o/ may be somewhat raised and centralized, it rarely, if ever, is as high as [ʊ]: *tohtosa:pwe* [tohto'sa:pwe] *milk*; *miyotoskew* [mi'yoːtoskew], *he works well*. The allophone [ʌ] of /a/ occurs here as in the ultima: *asapa:p*

7. The hyphen after the syllable *eh* in the phonemic transcription of this example symbolizes a phonological juncture indicated by the occurrence of the secondary stress in a position where we would not normally expect it — since stress normally tends to occur in alternating syllables.

The geminated [p] in the phonetic transcription and any such geminated consonants in phonetic examples in the balance of this paper are allophones of the respective non-geminated consonants. Almost any Cree consonant (except perhaps /s/, /y/, /w/, and /h/ — although we have even recorded a few doubtful examples of these) will tend to geminate in intervocalic position provided the preceding vowel is quite short *phonetically* (not merely short phonemically). This is another inverse proportion involving vowel length and consonant length. Various phonetic degrees of phonetic gemination occur; in this paper we have only written the gemination where it sounded to us rather prominent phonetically. Syllable break comes in the center of such a long geminated consonant. The onset of primary or secondary stress has also been recorded medial in such consonants as well.

[ʼassaːppa:p], *thread*; aka:mihk [akˈka:mihk], *across*. The long vowels retain their characteristic qualities and are therefore not illustrated here or in the next paragraph.

5.3 Examples follow here of the short vowels in syllables previous to the antepenult. In this position the allophones [ɪ] and [ʌ] of the phonemes /i/ and /a/ tend to occur; occasional exceptions may be due (aside from factors explained in 2.) to reduced speed of utterance at the beginning of long polysyllabic words: kisitina:wa:w [kɪs,ɪtɪˈna:wa:w], *our (incl.) feet*; papakiwayan [ˌpappakˈkiwaˈyan], *shirt*. Allophone [oː] of /o/ is often recorded here: otastotin [oːˈtastotin], *his hat*.

5.4 In the following example, the last part of the word (beginning about the onset of the primary stress) was perceptibly more rapid in speed of utterance than the first few syllables: kimiyoṣinahikaːn [ˌkiːmi,yoṣinˈnaɦiːkaːn], *you write well*. Notice that while the occurrence of [i] in the second syllable can be attributed to the following y, the occurrence of the segment [iː] in the first syllable cannot be so explained. Nevertheless, the first syllable is in the part of the word characterized by less rapid speed of utterance, and occurs, furthermore, in a syllable receiving one of the secondary stresses. These factors presumably result in a slight phonetic lengthening of the first syllable with consequent quality [iː] rather than [ɪ].

6. From the foregoing sections certain correlations of quality and quantity may be deduced. In ultimate syllables, where the shortest phonetic lengths occur, there is the most distinction in quality between phonemically long and phonemically short vowels; while in penultimate syllables, where the longest phonetic lengths occur, there is the least distinction in quality between long and short vowels. In other positions within the word intermediate phonetic lengths occur, and the qualitative difference between long and short vowels is neither the maximum or minimum observed in the above described positions. A slight phonetic lengthening of the earlier part of a long polysyllabic word results in a lessening of the qualitative difference between long and short vowels.

7. These data regarding quantitative and qualitative allophonic variation in Cree vowels may succinctly be formulated as follows: *In Cree vowels the degree of qualitative difference between long and short vowels tends to be inversely proportional to their phonetic quantity.*

## LA SPIRANTISATION DU /ʒ/

par

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### *Ile Partie: DISTRIBUTION PHONOLOGIQUE<sup>1</sup>*

7. Afin de clarifier les explications et pour poser le problème dans son contexte, voici tout d'abord une reproduction du Questionnaire, dont les éléments ont été distingués en sous-groupes, et numérotés. La liste se subdivise en A, "mots séparés" et B, "mots dans une phrase".

#### 7.1 *Mots séparés (A):*

agi	nage	75-dus-je	rajeunir
agir	40-songe	rage	110-déjeuner
agile	Jacqueline	toge	orgelet
agité	Jeanne	veux-je	dégeler
5-âgé	joli	jambe	régenter
ajouré	Joseph	80-janvier	mi-jambe
ajouté	45-Joliette	jonc	
agent	joute	à jeun	115-conjoint
gite	jour	Joachim	régional
10-girofle	joue	joyeux	magie
gilet	jouet	85-fugitif	corriger <sup>2</sup>
gifle	50-joujou	magique	dégager
gigot	jouir	régiment	120-engorger
giraffe	journal	régir	manger
15-girouette	jubé	régie	nager
Gilles	jupe	90-registre	partager
Jésus	55-Jules	ingérer	pacager
gérant	jumeaux	ingénu	125-piger
géographie	juger	injection	enrager
20-gérondif	juge	égermer	singer
Germaine	jument	95-rigide	étager
germer	60-justice	sagesse	130-déménager
geste	Judas		ménager
gèle	juron		
25-gêne	Julienne		

<sup>1</sup> Voir *RACL* III. I (1957) : 14-19.

<sup>2</sup> Ces verbes ont été enregistrés aux formes suivantes : corriger, corrigeons, corrigeait, corrigeant, corrigea; etc.

## 7.1 (suite)

Jacques	juchoir	targette	congé
jaquette	65-jus	"édrationner"	figer
jalousie	jubilare	cageot	déjà
Japon	jeûne	100-tragique	135-Réjean
30-japper	jeudi	vigile	pigeon
jargon	jeunesse	séjourner	plongeon
jamaïs		bajoue	villageois
Ajax	70-je	aujourd'hui	
âge	gens		major
35-tige	singe	105-injure	140-majeur
auge		majuscule	mugir
rouge	étais-je	conjuguer	nageoire
mange	ai-je	conjuger	bonjour

## 7.2 Phrases (B) :

- 1 - Il a agi comme une girouette.
- 2 - La petite Germaine souffre de jalousie.
- 3 - Les deux jumeaux s'appellent Jacques et Jules.
- 4 - Les deux grandes villes de St-Jacques et de Joliette près de Montréal.
- 5 - Partageons avec Joachim le jeûne de Joseph.
- 6 - Il a donné une gifle à la petite Julienne.
- 7 - En France, il y a régie du tabac.
- 8 - Il a des grosses bajoues et la toge le rajeunit.
- 9 - Il a de l'eau à mi-jambe et il a le foie engorgé.
- 10 - Demain, c'est congé... Bonjour...

8. Le questionnaire ci-dessus a été administré aux sujets choisis, qui ont généralement lu en premier lieu la liste, puis les phrases, à un rythme plus rapide. La rédaction du questionnaire s'est inspirée de certains principes, qui apparaîtront dans les remarques qui suivent :

8.1 Toutes les voyelles du français ont été utilisées dans le dressement de la liste mais on ne les retrouve pas nécessairement dans toutes les positions.

8.2 Ces voyelles ont été, à dessein, disséminées pêle-mêle sans suivre toujours de façon rigoureuse le trapèze vocalique; on espérait ainsi ne pas influencer la distribution des variantes du /z/, en évitant d'attirer l'attention des sujets sur les voyelles contextuelles. Les chiffres affectés à chacun des mots n'indiquent pas nécessairement la même position. C'est ainsi que le No 1: [azi], No 7: [zā], etc., n'ont qu'une valeur purement numérale.

8.3 Nous n'avons pas réussi à trouver un nombre considérable d'exemples des groupes consonantiques. L'étude porte donc surtout sur l'influence voyelle-consonne, sans négliger cependant l'effet de groupement des consonnes, lorsqu'il avait lieu: [dɛzʎe], [kõžwɛ], [rɛžjõnal].

8.4 Les phrases ont été enregistrées comme précédemment dans un ordre volontairement dispersé; on a essayé de passer en revue toutes les voyelles, sans rechercher des combinaisons difficiles et partant inusitées en français. On s'est efforcé de reprendre autant que possible les mêmes mots qu'en "A", mais dans le contexte de la chaîne parlée.

8.5 La distribution des chronèmes et des stronèmes a retenu plus spécialement notre attention. La phrase a été conçue de façon à permettre de décider si la durée et l'accent doivent être considérés ici comme des traits pertinents.

8.6 23 mots ont été utilisés dans dix phrases. Cette proportion, relativement faible en comparaison de la liste des 200 mots séparés, est cependant suffisante pour considérer les variations de prononciation que peut apporter le contexte de la chaîne parlée.

8.7 En pratiquant le dépouillement du questionnaire tant pour les mots séparés que pour les phrases, l'expérience a prouvé qu'il y a de nombreux "trous". Un correctif nécessaire sera apporté en perfectionnant la liste et en opérant avec un nouveau groupe de sujets appartenant à une autre tranche, (i.e. génération 20 à 40 ans, 40 à 60 ans). Par la même occasion, il faudra entreprendre l'étude parallèle du /š/.

## 9. *Remarques générales sur la distribution.*

9.1 L'irrégularité du débit rend le dépouillement de l'enquête très compliqué. S'il est difficile d'établir des proportions détaillées des différentes prononciations, parce que celles-ci offrent trop de divergences chez un même sujet, ou encore d'un sujet à un autre, les résultats dans l'ensemble restent assez près de la réalité.

9.2 Quand un même phonème apparaît avec des voyelles de nature différente, on s'est préoccupé de ne mentionner que les voyelles qui offrent vraiment un caractère stable, et non pas celles qui font exception chez un nombre limité de sujets.

9.3 Les résultats des types (*ž* + voyelle) et (*ž* + voyelle + consonne) des positions initiale [žã] [žil], et intervocalique [kõžyre] [mažyskyl] étant pratiquement les mêmes, seront donnés simultanément.

9.4 Les symboles employés pour l'enquête et le dépouillement ont la valeur suivante:

### Symboles :

- H1 — fricative glottale sonore avec force 1.
- H2 — fricative glottale sonore avec force 2.
- žš — tendance au [š] très distinct.
- x — fricative vélaire sourde.
- ž0 — assourdissement progressif. Plutôt [š] que [ž].
- h/H1 — alternance de la fricative glottale sourde/sonore.
- ʔš — coup de glotte suivi de [š].
- H(n) 1 — fricative glottale sonore nasalisée (avec force 1 ou 2).
- žš(n) — tendance au [š] très distinct avec nasalisation.

### 10. Résultats généraux de la distribution.

Si l'on jette un coup d'œil global sur les résultats de l'enquête, on remarque que le phonème /ž/ se réalise avec des pourcentages différents selon les positions et dans l'ordre suivant :

	prononciation standard
finale absolue du type: [ ti:ž ]	21/40
position initiale accentuée: [ žā ]	19/40
position initiale inaccentuée: [ žapō ]	14/40
avec voyelle nasale: [ ā:ž ]	12/40
position intervocalique accentuée: [ aži ]	10/40
position intervocalique inaccentuée: [ kōžyre ]	14/40

10.1 Ces proportions restent sensiblement les mêmes avec tous les phonèmes du système vocalique ou consonantique du français et les voyelles relâchées du canadien-français alors qu'on entend: [ žil ], [ žyl ], [ bōžur ].

10.2 La position finale accentuée reste la plus normale et la moins sensible aux fluctuations dans ses différentes réalisations: [ ā:ž ]. Cette assertion établie sur l'audition maintes fois reprise d'enregistrements sonores n'a cependant pas été contrôlée par l'enregistrement kymographique qui apporterait en dernière analyse des précisions plus rigoureuses.

10.3 C'est en position intervocalique accentuée que le /ž/ offre le plus grand nombre d'allophones, selon un ordre bien défini, en relation assez étroite avec la voyelle qui l'entoure et le degré d'intensité déployé, qu'il y ait accentuation ou non.

## 11. Résultats détaillés sur la distribution.

12.1 En position initiale accentuée ou non, en plus des chiffres donnés précédemment pour le phonème /ž/, (19-14), la réalisation la plus fréquente et qui attire l'attention est celle du déplacement de la fricative palato-alvéolaire vers la région laryngale. On entend [H]; et c'est en présence de la voyelle postérieure /a/ que le phénomène est le plus constant. La série de la liste comprise entre les numéros 117 à 133 illustre bien cet énoncé. A peu de différence près la présence ou l'absence d'accentuation fait varier les proportions.

11.2 Les remarques précédentes s'appliquent partiellement aux exemples de /ž/ en position intervocalique accentuée ou non. Le nombre d'observations recueillies où [H] apparaît est le même sauf que la voyelle postérieure /a/ a une influence beaucoup plus faible sur la réalisation du phénomène. On remarque [H] avec /i/, /ɔ/, /ā/.

11.3 Si on entend [H] en présence d'une voyelle postérieure, le dépouillement des groupes comportant des voyelles antérieures offre un ensemble parallèle de variantes dignes d'être mentionnées. Le point d'articulation "vélaire-laryngal" favorise la spirantisation mais il n'est pas intimement lié à cette observation. La série 45 à 53, 54 à 65 de la liste le prouvent. L'ordre des voyelles est bien défini avec /i/, /y/, /u/, puis il devient assez flottant.

11.4 Aucun [H] n'est entendu en position finale, que la voyelle soit orale ou nasale.

11.5 Environ 13 sujets se partagent les autres variantes du phonème /ž/, dont on a donné les symboles les plus fréquents à la page 74, et qui paraissent à la fin de ce travail.

11.6 En comparant mots séparés et phrases de toute l'enquête et en prenant pour acquis, d'après le travail du Frère Gaétan, s.g.,<sup>3</sup> au laboratoire de phonétique expérimentale, à savoir que les syllabes toniques fermées du français du Nord sont sensiblement plus longues que celles du canadien, alors que c'est le contraire qui se produit dans toutes les autres positions, il reste cependant indéniable que la durée des voyelles qui accompagnent le /ž/ n'est pas fonctionnelle et ne forme aucune opposition phonologique distinctive. L'accentuation elle-même qu'elle soit F1 ou F2, postule les mêmes conclusions, qu'elle se réalise dans des mots entendus avec [H1], [H2] ou [x], [h/H1], etc.

<sup>3</sup> Fr. Gaétan, s.g. (Lucien Côté), *Etude expérimentale de la durée vocalique en canadien-français*. Université de Montréal, Thèse de M. A., 1951. 116 p. vii.

## 12. Conclusions.

12.1 Il y a une grande diversité dans la prononciation des 40 enquêtés qui utilisent les variantes de /ž/.

12.2 Les mots courants de la vie quotidienne entendus au foyer ou au collège favorisent beaucoup plus l'apparition du phénomène étudié que les mots peu usités, le vocabulaire des gens des campagnes (les fermiers surtout) plus que ceux des villes, la chaîne parlée, plus que le mot isolé.

12.3 L'allophone [H] s'acquiert par imitation (imitation des parents et de l'entourage). Il disparaît progressivement chez le jeune homme transplanté dans un autre milieu où ce parler est considéré comme désuet ou ridicule. Il réapparaît quelquefois par habitude.

Plusieurs enquêtés qui n'ont plus de [H], de [h] ou de [x] dans leur système disent l'entendre encore chez leurs parents, leurs grands-parents et leurs co-paroissiens.

12.4 Le "corpus" de l'expérience est assez mince. Une recherche plus extensive est nécessaire à la publication de statistiques concluantes. Trois générations de personnes (20, 40, 60 ans) fourniront des résultats beaucoup plus nuancés.

12.5 Une étude approfondie des différents "isolats" et de toute l'aire du franco-canadien où on retrouve cette prononciation est nécessaire. Les recherches sur le vocabulaire déjà entreprises aident déjà cette étude. On entend [H] dans les environs de Québec, dans la Gaspésie, la Beauce, la Baie des Chaleurs et le comté de Portneuf.

12.6 [H] est le propre des habitants des campagnes. On ne l'entend habituellement pas dans les villes ou les agglomérations urbaines.

12.7 Les habitants de Saint-Jacques-de-Montcalm en forte majorité de descendance acadienne, prononcent le [H] dans une proportion imposante. Etre Acadien ou de descendance acadienne n'influence en rien le phénomène étudié. [H] existe même chez des Canadiens dont les origines sont différentes.

12.8 Les divergences géographiques compliquent l'image. On peut dire que dans l'ensemble /ž/ est un phonème canadien-français, mais il se trouve certains îlots linguistiques où l'on entend une variante [H], avec tout un ensemble d'allophones particuliers. Pour un Canadien français, cette variante est un diaphone, si on s'en tient à la définition de Jones: "a sound used by one group of speakers together with other sounds which replace it consistently in the pronunciation of other speakers"<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Jones, O., *An Outline of English Phonetics*. Heffer, Cambridge, 8e éd., p. 53.



En résumé, si tous les mots du français du Nord avec les phonèmes /š/ et /ž/ se retrouvent à Saint-Jacques-de-Montcalm sans aucune différence de signification; de plus, si on y entend une variante principale et toute une gamme moins fréquente réalisée en [H], [x], [h/H1], etc. qui ne remplissent aucune fonction différentiatrice, on peut donc écrire:

F.N.: /ž/ = St-Jacques /H/  
ou  
/ž/ = /ž/ (H, x, h/H1, etc.)



# TABLEAU RÉCAPITULATIF DES VARIANTES POSITIONS :

intervocalique accentuée	Intervocalique Inaccentuée	initiale accentuée	initiale Inaccentuée	finale	finale et voyelle nasale
ž	ž	ž	ž	ž	ž
H1	H1	H1	H1	--	H (n) 1
H2	H2	H2	H2	--	H (n) 2
ž-š	ž-š	ž-š	ž-š	--	ž-š (n)
ž-z0	ž-z0	ž-z0	ž-z0	ž-z0	--
h/H1	--	--	--	--	--
ʔs	--	--	ʔs	--	--
X	X	X	X	--	X (n)
--	X H1	--	--	--	--
--	ž/h	--	--	--	--
--	H2+žz0	H2+žz0	--	--	--
--	h/H2	h/H2	h/H2	--	--
--	--	ʔ/H1	ʔ/H1	--	--
--	--	--	--	š	--
--	--	--	--	žh	--
--	--	--	--	žz0h	--

<sup>5</sup> La phonologie du canadien-français est à l'étude à l'Université de Montréal depuis 1947 (Voir PMLA, *Research in Progress* No 3554, 1948). On s'y préoccupe plus particulièrement de recherches expérimentales pour bâtir le système; ce dernier fera l'objet prochainement d'un ensemble de publication, notamment sur les diphtongues.

## NEUTRALISATION AND FUSION OF VOCALIC PHONEMES IN CANADIAN ENGLISH AS SPOKEN IN THE VANCOUVER AREA<sup>1</sup>

by

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1. In the last issue of the JCLA (March 1957) I made a tentative phonetic analysis of the English spoken by the younger generation in the Vancouver area. On the basis of that analysis I propose in this article to go on to the examination of one of the problems that face us in the phonemic classification of the Vancouver vowels.

2. I should like to stress from the beginning that this problem is distributional, for whatever our views on the nature of the phoneme — whether we regard it as a concrete, practical unit, useful in the description of languages and dialects known or hitherto unknown, or whether we consider it as an abstract Platonic idea whose translation to the real world involves a series of Protean adaptations or adjustments to the phonological environment — in either case, the most important factor to be considered is distribution.

3. For the purposes of this article I wish to limit myself to a study of what happens to a range of eleven vocalic phonemes in what we may call an open syllable position, before medial, intervocalic /r/, taking an occasional side-glance at the situation in closed syllables before /r/, which is, of course, often quite a different problem.

4. I should mention also that, in making this study, I have used a comparative approach, bearing in mind both diatopic and diachronic comparisons, for although it is possible to describe the phenomena in question objectively as they occur and simply leave it at that, we miss their full phonological significance if we ignore this wider background.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This article is adapted from a paper read on June 18, 1957, in Ottawa at the annual conference of the C.L.A. See also JOLA 3.1 (1957): 20-26.

<sup>2</sup> I am thinking here of "phonology" in Martinet's sense, i.e. as functional phonetics.

5. As explained in the JCLA article already mentioned I have identified at the phonetic level in Van. twelve simple vowel-sounds which occur in the following key-words:

No 1	Pete	[pit]	No 7	pot	[pɒt]
No 2	peer	[pɪr]	No 8	port	[pɔrt]
No 3	pit	[pit]	No 9	put	[put]
No 4	pet	[pet]	No 10	pool	[pul]
No 5	pat	[pæt]	No 11	putt	[pat]
No 6	part	[part]	No 12	potato	[pə'teitou]

and in relation to the problem under discussion I should like to include two of the diphthongs as well, viz.,

No 13	bait	[beit] <sup>3</sup>	No 14	boat	[bout] <sup>3</sup>
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6. A study of these fourteen item reveals that most of the vocalic nuclei have full phonemic status, viz., the nuclei occurring in the following words:

1) Pete	/pit/	6) bot, bought	/bɒt/
2) pit	/pɪt/	7) boat	/bɔt/
		8) pull	/pul/
		9) pool	/pul/
3) pate	/pet/		
4) pet	/pet/	10) putt	/pat/
5) pat	/pæt/	11) potato	/pə'teto/

Vowels No. 2 (in *peer*), No. 8 (in *port*) and in some pronunciations No. 6 (in *part*), however, occur only in front of /r/ and have thus the status of positional variants. Our fourteen item break down then into eleven phonemes plus three allophones occurring before /r/, or with some speakers twelve phonemes plus two allophones.

7. At this point it would be best to clear up the ambiguous status of the back [ɑ] vowel found in *part*. This vowel occurs, to the exclusion of (æ) in front of /r/ in closed syllables. With some speakers the back [ɑ] does not occur anywhere else and so we might say it functions only as a pre-/r/ allophone of [æ] in these circumstances.

On the other hand some speakers use the back [ɑ] in other contexts, e.g., in words like *father* /'faðər/ which is to be

<sup>3</sup> For the sake of convenience these diphthongs are indicated henceforth by the symbols [e] and [o] respectively.

contrasted with *gather* /'gæðər/, *rather* /ræðər/ where front [æ] occurs in a similar environment, as well as in a series of words like *amen* /,ɑ'men/, *almond* /'ɑmənd/, *calm* /kɑm/, etc. In their speech [æ] and [ɑ] are separate phonemes as is clearly shown by minimal pairs such as *cam* /kæm/ and *calm* /kɑm/, *Pam* /pæm/ and *palm* /pɑm/.

7.1 It is worth noting that speakers of the first type, who use back [ɑ] merely as an allophone of front [æ], have the vowel [ɒ] instead of back [ɑ] in words like *father* /'fʊðər/, *amen* /,ɑ'men/, *almond* /'ɑmənd/, *calm* /kɑm/, etc. Thus with them *balm* and *bomb* are homophones, both being pronounced [bɒm] and *father* ['fʊðər] rhymes with *bother* ['bʊðər].

7.2 Before medial /r/ we do, of course, find an opposition in most pronunciations between front [æ] and [ɑ] in pairs like *tarry* ('linger') which is ['tæri] and *tarry* ('covered with tar') which is ['tɑri], but in such cases the contrast is to be interpreted as an oristic signal or juncture phenomenon, the back [ɑ] always being associated with a morpheme suture.

8. In a general way then these eleven phonemes mentioned in 6 are in contrastive distribution as the list of key-words will show, but in front of medial intervocalic [r] we find as few as five and never more than seven vowels. In other words, the phonemic oppositions that function in other situations are no longer operative here.

9. If we were to leave our description at this point, merely stating that before intervocalic /r/

- i) the vowels in *Pete*, *pit*, *pate*, *bought*, *boat*, and *pool* (viz., [i] [ɪ] [e] [ɒ] [o] and [u] respectively) never occur;
- ii) the vowels in *pet* and *pull* and the first vowel in *potato* (viz., [ɛ] [ʊ] and [ə] respectively) do occur;
- iii) the vowels in *pat* and *putt* (viz., [æ] and [ʌ] respectively) occur with only a few speakers;
- iv) two special allophones are found, viz., the vowels in *peer* and *port* ([i] and [ɔ] respectively);

then to my mind our account of the situation is not complete, for a dynamic phonology would have to show the mechanism of this drastic reduction in the number of possible phonemes in this position, and would further have to show how each phoneme or allophone found before intervocalic /r/ may be said to "represent" a group of two or three items in the full phoneme list.

10. How are we to interpret phonologically these suspensions of normal phonemic opposition? Broadly speaking, of course, what has happened is that certain neighbouring<sup>4</sup> vowels have

<sup>4</sup> "neighbouring" from the point of view of their place of articulation.

fallen together, undoubtedly by a gradual rapprochement of allophones. This can best be appreciated by diatopic comparisons with other forms of spoken English, e.g., Scottish or Scotch-Irish, where most of the vowels in question have preserved their oppositional distinctiveness, or else by diachronic references to the situation which existed at an earlier stage in the history of the language when the basic vowel phonemes were still largely uninfluenced by a following /r/.

It is worth emphasizing, however, that even without these diatopic and diachronic comparisons, a purely inward-looking description would inescapably lead us to the same conclusion, viz., that each one of the vowels found in front of intervocalic /r/ actually "represents" two or more of the normal phoneme list. We could not, of course, always establish by purely internal reference the provenance of these vowels.

11. There are undoubtedly various possible ways of interpreting this phenomenon of vowels falling together.<sup>5</sup> Cropping up in this connexion we often find, for example, the term *neutralisation*, a term used by J. Cantineau to translate Trubetskoy's *Aufhebung* which literally means *suspension*, i.e., suspension of phonemic opposition.<sup>6</sup> It seems to me, however, that we cannot use this term, even loosely, to cover *all* the above-mentioned phenomena. We must recognise at least three distinct situations.

12. In the first place, there are those cases which we might accurately describe as neutralisations. With many Van. speakers, for example, neither /i/ nor /ɪ/ occurs before intervocalic /r/. In place of these two vowels we find one variant which is common to both and intermediate between the two in words like *mirror* ['mɪrər] which forms a perfect rhyme with *nearer* ['nɪrər]. We can cite as an identical pair the word *spirit* ['spɪrət] and the word-group *spear it* ['spɪrət]. This neutralisation is a widespread and characteristic feature of Van. although it is not altogether universal.

13. A similar situation arises with /ɒ/ and /o/. Neither of these phonemes occurs in front of intervocalic /r/, both being replaced by an identical common variant of intermediate tamber, viz., the vowel in *coral* ['kɔrəl] which is homophonous with that in *choral* ['kɔrəl]. This feature incidentally is found also in closed syllables before /r/, e.g., the vowel [ɔ] in *cork* and *pork* is intermediate between the [ɒ] of *cock* and *pock* on the one hand and the [o] of *coke* and *poke* on the other. Some forms of English, e.g., Scotch-Irish, N.W. and S.W. English<sup>7</sup> and apparently some forms of American English still maintain the

<sup>5</sup> See Pike, K. L. & Pike, E. V., *Live Issues in Descriptive Linguistics*, Glendale, Calif., 1955: 11-12, for bibliography.

<sup>6</sup> See Troubetzkoy, N. S., *Principes de phonologie* (Traduction J. Cantineau). Paris, Klincksieck, 1937: 246 ff.

<sup>7</sup> i.e. the English spoken in N. W. and S. W. England.

phonemic opposition between the *cock*-type vowel and the *coke*-type vowel even in front of /r/, e.g., they distinguish between *for/four*, *born/borne*, *horse/hoarse*, *morning/mourning*, *border/boarder*, *coral/choral*, *aural/oral* etc., where the first item in each pair has the [ʊ] or [ɔ] vowel and the second has [o]. I have found no trace of such oppositions in Van. where the neutralisation seems to be universal.<sup>8</sup>

These cases we might compare with the French *middle*-vowels, e.g., middle E intermediate between /e/ and /ɛ/, middle Œ, or middle O, all occurring in a specific phonological context.

14. Secondly, there are cases where the normal phonemic opposition between a pair of neighbouring vowels is suspended before intervocalic /r/, but instead of an intermediate vowel replacing both of them, only one member of the pair occurs, the other being systematically excluded. In place of the opposition between /ʊ/ and /u/ as in *full* /fʊl/ and *fool* /fu:l/, *pulling* /'pʊliŋ/ and *pooling* /'pu:liŋ/, we find only the vowel [ʊ] in front of intervocalic /r/, e.g., *poorish*, ['pʊriʃ], *lurid* ['lʊrəd], *rural* ['rʊrəl], etc., etc.

15. Similarly /ʌ/ and /ə/ which are neighbours from the articulatory point of view, are used contrastively by only a few speakers in front of intervocalic /r/ in words like *hurry* ['həri] as against *furry* ['fəri]. In this case once again it is clear that this opposition has oristic implications, as the schwa-vowel occurs before intervocalic /r/ only at a morpheme suture. With most speakers, however, [ʌ] is eliminated here and only [ə] occurs.

The situation described in 14 and 15 is parallel to the suspension in German or Russian of the *t/d* opposition in absolute *Auslaut* — with German also in syllable final position — where only [t] occurs, never [d].

16. In the same way with some Van. speakers the opposition between the vowels /e/ and /ɛ/ as in *pate* /pet/ and *pet* /pet/ is not valid in front of intervocalic /r/, the first being excluded in favour of the second. Thus *Mary* and *merry* (which have the normally opposed phonemes /e/ and /ɛ/ in Scottish /'meri/ and /'merɪ/) fall together in Van. as ['meri].

17. At this point the third type of suspension of phonemic opposition arises, for many of the younger Van. speakers also pronounce *marry* as ['meri] in which case we have three neighbouring phonemes losing their distinctiveness, the two extremes falling together with the middle member of the group. With the same speakers *Cary* and *carry* are not distinguished from *Kerry*, all being ['keri], *hairry* and *Harry* are homophones: ['heri] as are *fairy* and *ferry*: ['feri], *berry* and *Barry*: ['beri], etc.

<sup>8</sup> This neutralisation is, of course, also typical of Standard Southern British pronunciation.

18. It is possible then to sum up the treatment of the Van. vowels in front of intervocalic /r/ by stating that normal phonemic opposition between contiguous vowels is largely suspended and that neighbouring pairs or groups of vowels fall together either in an intermediate "neutral" vowel which might be regarded as a new common allophone, or else one of the pair is eliminated in favour of the other, or finally, in one case, the two outer members of a group of three may be eliminated in favour of the central member.

19. I should like in conclusion to make a few general remarks relating to my topic.

19.1 In connexion with terminology, we should, I think, restrict the term *neutralisation* to cases where two phonemes are replaced in a given context by a phone which is in some way intermediate between the two, a kind of "Mittelding". For the rest we should find another term such as *phoneme fusion* which might be qualified as binary or ternary, according to whether it involved a group of two of three members.

19.2 We should use special symbols for the resultants of neutralisation and fusion. We could, for example, use capitals: I for the neutralised form of /i/ and /ɪ/; E for the fusion of /e/, /ɛ/ and /æ/; U for that of /ʊ/ and /u/; perhaps Ǝ for that of /ʌ/ and /ə/ and O for the neutralised form of /ɒ/ and /o/. This would be in line with the use of capitals to represent archi-phonemes in other languages. Thus *spear* it and *spirit* could be phonemicised as /'spIret/; *Mary*, *merry*, and *marry* as /'mEri/; *coral* and *choral* as /'kOrəl/; *poorish* as /'pUris/ and *hurry* as /'hƎri/.

19.3 We cannot help observing that the suspensions of phonemic opposition described above have given rise to a considerable number of new homophones. This might seem from the point of view of communication a source of ambiguity. In fact our preoccupation with the phoneme as a differentiating unit may lead us to neglect other ways in which words are distinguished, e.g., to overlook the fact that function differentiates just as clearly as phoneme, so that *merry* as an adjective, *Mary* as a girl's name and *marry* as a verb may all sound exactly alike without causing any confusion.

19.4 Finally, there is the question of types of pronunciation. A full-scale statistical study would be needed to prove the point conclusively, but it seems more than likely that the variable factors in Van. are grouped together in characteristic patterns and are used by different individuals in such a way that it should be possible to classify speakers according to their speech-pattern, once we had established what these speech-patterns are. We could also determine their relative frequency in the community.

## BOOK REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS CRITIQUES

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¶ **Words : How to Know Them**, by M. M. Mathews. New York, Holt, 1956. Pp. vi-121 (Reviewed by Walter S. Avis, Royal Military College).

"This little book", writes Dr. Mathews, "is designed to be of help to those desirous of securing an ever-increasing appreciation of words." This eminent lexicographer, for whom the study of words has been a life's work, is well qualified to offer such help. As both instructor and guide, he points the way to a better understanding of words by focusing attention on the resources of the best English dictionaries.

In the first chapter the reader is introduced to the reputable unabridged dictionaries: **Webster's New International**, the **Standard**, the **Century**, the **Oxford**, and certain special works of reference, including Wright's **English Dialect Dictionary**, the **Dictionary of American English**, and the **Dictionary of Americanisms** (which was edited by Dr. Mathews himself). For each of these is offered a brief but informative statement concerning background and content. Unfortunately, no attempt is made to evaluate the widely used abridged dictionaries, from which, indeed, many illustrations used later in the book are drawn, not all of them from abridgements of the larger dictionaries described in the opening chapter.

In subsequent chapters Dr. Mathews uses the dictionary as a frame of reference for succinct discussion of the background of English and questions of grammar and usage, with special attention being given to the vexatious problems of spelling. The chapter on pronunciation suffers more than most from brief treatment and is marred by the author's failure to refer to the International Phonetic Alphabet as the most efficient means of phonetic respelling. To discuss the sounds of English in terms of the symbols used by the commercial dictionaries is to invite misunderstanding. It must be remembered, however, that Dr. Mathews is using these dictionaries as his frame of reference, the obvious justification of his choice of symbols.

The last half of the book deals with meanings, etymologies, and wordbuilding, the illuminating discussion and aptly chosen illustrations reflecting an enthusiastic and well-informed author. It is to be hoped that the reader's interest is not vitiated by the irritation of manipulating the book itself, for the gatherings of this paperback have been stapled rather than stitched, so that it is uncommonly awkward to handle.

A useful feature of this textbook is the series of questions appended to each chapter. Teachers of first-year English should welcome Dr. Mathews' little book, for it will make their students aware of the wealth of interesting information to be found in a good dictionary. Their students will learn about words and how to use them; and, no less important, they will learn about dictionaries and how to use them.

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¶ **Linguistics across Cultures: Applied Linguistics for Language Teachers**, by Robert Lado, Ann Arbor, Univ. of Michigan Press, 1957. Pp. ix-141. (Reviewed by Walter S. Avis, Royal Military College).

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This book was written primarily for trained language teachers, not for professional linguists. In clear, non-technical language, Professor Lado has set forth a thoroughly practical approach for making the systematic linguistic-cultural comparisons necessary to the effective teaching of foreign languages. The fundamental assumption underlying the procedures is "that individuals tend to transfer the forms and meanings, and the distribution of the forms and meanings of their native language and culture to the foreign language and culture." If this assumption is correct, it follows that teachers must be capable of comparing the language being taught with the native language of the learner. **Linguistics Across Cultures** shows the way.

There are six chapters in the book: (1) The Necessity for a Systematic Comparison of Languages and Cultures; (2) How to Compare Two Sound Systems; (3) How to Compare Two Grammatical Structures; (4) How to Compare Two Vocabulary Systems; (5) How to Compare Two Writing Systems; (6) How to Compare Two Cultures. In addition, the Appendix offers a table of the phonetic and phonemic symbols used in the text and a selected bibliography, which directs the teacher to both general linguistic works and to studies of specific languages useful in the preparation of teaching materials.

Chapter 1 introduces the fundamental assumption that systematic linguistic-cultural comparisons are prerequisite to effective second-language teaching and states succinctly its significance for teaching, testing, research, and general understanding. In stating the case for systematic comparison, the author offers no effortless road to mastery of a second-language; his claim is that the method is more effective, not that it is less demanding. Indeed, words such as "dull," "uninteresting," "dry," and "tedious" are used rather too often in the early pages of this book. Surely a trained language teacher need not be constantly reminded of the hard work necessary for the preparation of his courses.

The remaining five chapters present working techniques for making comparisons between systems of pronunciation, grammatical structure, vocabulary, writing, and cultural behaviour. Since he is addressing trained teachers, Professor Lado quite reasonably assumes a working knowledge of phonemics, morphemics and syntax, pointing to fuller treatments of such matters (Pike, Fries, and others) in footnotes. The structure of Chapter 2 is paralleled in the other four, an arrangement which does much to promote comprehension of the system underlying the methods of analysis being advocated. Each chapter begins with a brief survey of the principles relevant to the level of analysis under discussion and includes the necessary warnings against misconceptions which have clouded thinking about language for years: "phonemes are not letters," "beware absolute rules of correctness," "don't identify a language with its dictionary," "Learning a writing system is not the same as learning a language," and so on.

The introduction is followed in each chapter by a thorough-going analysis of typical problems, both general and specific, well illustrated by actual linguistic evidence, much of it from Spanish. The reader is shown why some problems of learning are relatively simple while others are extremely difficult. He is shown, for example, that some difficulties generally assumed to be problems of pronunciation are

more effectively treated as problems of vocabulary or spelling, as in the complex series of English words spelled with *-ough*. Among literate persons from speech communities sharing the Roman alphabet spelling interference constitutes a significant problem in language learning. Thus the French speaker (or the Spanish speaker) experiences great difficulty with English words beginning with /h/. This phoneme does not occur in present-day spoken French although it did occur in earlier French and is still represented, a "silent letter," in the traditional orthography. The existence of this anachronism in written French complicates the learner's problem of mastering the recognition, articulation, and distribution of English /h/, which is a distinctive phoneme in the sound system and (with a few exceptions best treated as vocabulary items) regularly pronounced as represented in English spelling.

One of the most difficult problems discussed in the text is that concerned with "unpredictable alternation between two potential substitutions." It is a widely held principle that a learner trying to master a foreign speech sound not in his own system will substitute the sound from his own system which most closely resembles it. Thus the English speaker learning the French word *lune*, the /y/ of which is lacking in his own system, will substitute /u/, producing an unacceptable /lun/. He presumably makes this substitution because the dominant characteristic of /y/ from his point of view is lip rounding rather than tongue position. Yet speakers of Thai and Japanese, both of which lack a phoneme /θ/ but have /s/ and /t/, make different substitutions in pronouncing the English word *think*, Thai speakers using /t/ and Japanese speakers /s/. The explanation in Dr. Lado's view is that the choice of a substitute is determined by the entire sound system within which the speaker operates. By means of charts showing the adjacent phonemes in each system he attempts to account for the different substitutions for /θ/ in terms of the dominant phonemic features in each language, stop vs fricative, fricative vs sibilant, and so on. His examination of the problem is thought-provoking but unconvincing. As a matter of fact, he himself seems far from convinced that his arguments are sound.

A problem relevant to this question of substitution is met with among French speakers learning English. Neither Canadian nor Parisian French has /θ/ or /ð/ phonemes, yet both appear to have identical consonant phonemes in their sound systems. In spite of this fact, the French Canadian regularly substitutes /t/ and /d/ for the interdental fricatives, whereas the Parisian substitutes /s/ and /z/. There is doubtless an explanation for this phenomenon, but the solution is not apparent from Professor Lado's discussion of alternation between potential substitutes.

Problems arising from regional, social, and stylistic variation are touched on throughout the book. The teacher is always faced with such problems when his students have different geographical and social backgrounds. The language being taught should, of course, be a socially acceptable dialect; in North America that of the Northern and Midland speech areas is probably the most commonly used for teaching materials. The term General American (which Dr. Lado erroneously equates with Midland American) is often loosely used to refer to all varieties of American English except those used in New England and the South. The practice is questionable, for, as Professor Kurath and others have shown, the principal dialect areas of the Eastern United States can be much more accurately defined as Northern, Midland, and Southern. Of these three types of speech it seems probable that the Northern variety is dominant.

Once the dialect of the language to be learned has been decided upon, a comparison must be made with the dialect of the learner. If the learner is a French Canadian, then Canadian French must be compared with the variety of English being taught, say, Canadian English (the dominant variety of which is closely akin to Northern American English). A comparison with Parisian French would fail in many respects to point up the problems encountered in teaching French Canadians. Moreover, there are dialectal differences among French Canadians; the student from Quebec City who uses a uvular *r* has a different and more difficult task in learning the North American English /*r*/ than one from Montreal who uses a tongue-tip trill. While such problems are not given detailed treatment in Professor Lado's book, they are forcibly brought to the readers' attention.

Problems of comparing stress, rhythm, and intonation are treated in an illuminating manner. The practice of marking pitch levels by *x* (extra high), *h* (high), *m* (mid), and *l* (low) is a happy solution to the confusion brought about by the two competing systems of numbers now in use. These meaningful letters also facilitate the readers' understanding of the several pitch patterns discussed. The comparison of intonation contours between one language and another brings out some important causes of misunderstanding. If, for example, an English speaker learning Spanish superimposes his English mid-high-low (matter-of-fact contour) on a Spanish statement, his utterance will be taken either as a question or an emphatic remark, both of which may be signalled by this contour in Spanish. A comparison of suprasegmental features and their meanings can be invaluable for the teacher in helping his students to overcome many subtle problems of this kind.

Each chapter ends with an illustration of a technique for making a problem inventory, a practical method for recording the results of the comparison. Here, as elsewhere, the important distinction between production problems and recognition problems is emphasized. Such an inventory, carefully worked out, will greatly assist the teacher in preparing an effective course.

Space does not permit a closer look at the several chapters of this book. In each the author brings important teaching problems to the fore and appraises them in the light of the methods of comparison being advocated. Sounds, grammar, vocabulary, writing, and cultural units are all analysed by similar procedures to determine similarities and differences in form meaning and distribution. A number of the concepts advanced in the brief treatment of cultural units will be fresh and fascinating to many readers. Language and culture are so inextricably bound together that one cannot expect to learn a foreign language without learning a great deal about the culture of the people to whom that language is native. Surely it is for this reason that few (if any) persons can be classed as perfect bilinguals.

Professor Lado has rendered a great service to second-language teachers in making these useful systematic procedures available to them. One might regret that the chosen title is so obscure; *Linguistics Across Cultures* suggests something quite different from a handbook of applied linguistics. A far better guide to the contents would have been obtained if the present title and subtitle has been reversed. It is to be hoped that this book will be instrumental in training more and more teachers trained to use the methods of present-day linguistic science. Books such as this one make the advantages of such training fully apparent.

- ¶ "Le bilinguisme au Pays de Galles", par Herbert Pilch, in *Miscelánea Homenaje a André Martinet*, Universidad de la Laguna, Canarias (1957) I: 223-241. (Compte rendu de J.-P. Vinay, Université de Montréal).

L'article de M. Herbert Pilch présente un intérêt tout particulier pour les lecteurs canadiens : il étudie en effet l'influence du bilinguisme sur la structure phonologique et syntagmatique du gallois en énumérant, dans une première partie, certaines des pressions qui s'exercent sur les sujets parlants. Au Pays de Galles, où le bilinguisme existe dans certaines régions assez bien définies, généralement situées en dehors des grands centres industriels, le dernier recensement accuse 672,531 bilingues pour une population totale de 1,757,743, soit 27.2 %, contre 41,155 monoglottes (soit 1.7 %) qui d'ailleurs sont en partie destinés à apprendre l'anglais à l'école. Les pressions sociales et culturelles jouant contre le gallois sont immenses; malgré son passé, malgré une littérature et une production critique qui se compare assez favorablement à celle de petits pays européens de population égale ou supérieure, malgré l'apport de certaines structures modernes telles que la radio (3 heures par jour), l'école primaire, quelques écoles secondaires et quelques chaires universitaires, — le gallois a tendance à se réfugier dans une clandestinité qui a honte d'elle-même. Par un curieux retour des choses, le gouvernement qui a fait autrefois tout le nécessaire pour l'élimination complète du gallois, depuis l'annexion de la Principauté à la couronne britannique, fait maintenant amende honorable et pose des gestes démocratiques qui font dire au professeur Melville Richards que le gallois "est mieux traité à Westminster qu'au Pays de Galles lui-même". Un semblable mouvement de bascule se dessine parmi la population : dans le passé, les élites ont opté résolument pour l'anglicisation, laissant la masse, le *gwerin*, se débrouiller avec sa langue vernaculaire qui puisa dans la religion réformée un regain de vie extraordinaire; maintenant, depuis presque un demi-siècle, ce sont les élites qui retournent au gallois, par nostalgie ou par snobisme, voire par esprit de contradiction, mais la masse ne les suit plus. M. Pilch met bien ces faits en lumière, même si l'on eût souhaité plus de nuances du côté de la répartition géographique et sociale des bilingues.

Une deuxième partie, plus proprement linguistique, essaie de faire le bilan de ce que le bilinguisme apporte aux deux langues en présence. De même que les pressions s'exercent presque uniquement en faveur de l'anglais, de même les changements apportés concernent presque tous le gallois. De là la constation, qui semble bien universelle, à savoir que le bilinguisme est rarement à double effet, mais joue contre la langue socialement ou culturellement la plus faible. Les changements linguistiques dus au bilinguisme — et ils sont sans doute la majorité — dénotent donc un courant de pressions extra-linguistiques qui nous renseignent sur le statut des langues en présence : le gallois devant le latin, le breton devant le français, les dialectes picard, normand, champenois devant le francien, etc. Cependant, et c'est là un point sur lequel insiste l'auteur, les habitudes phonologiques résistent le plus longtemps, créant ainsi un "substrat" : "l'anglais [du Pays de Galles] garde son vocabulaire et sa morphologie presque intacte, **mais il est prononcé avec le système phonologique du gallois**". On suit moins l'auteur lorsqu'il prétend que la structure du gallois est à peine entamée par l'invasion massive de **calques**. On se doutait certes de la rareté des emprunts morphologiques; de fait, le seul changement à noter serait "la création d'une nouvelle catégorie flexionnelle" dans le domaine du nombre, opposant la conception anglaise  **dau foy s**  (two boys) à la conception galloise  **dau fachgen**  (two boy). H. P. ne cite qu'un petit nombre de pluriels fléchis parmi les mots empruntés (type  **car**  (automobi-

le), pluriel **lawer o geir**), ce qui est étonnant : on en trouve en effet de nombreux exemples, même dans les dictionnaires traditionnels comme celui d'Anwyl (cf. **trowser**, -i SW; **trowsus**, -au NW) et certains mots cités dans l'article comme des emprunts récents datent en fait de plusieurs générations : **bws**, **trên**, **banc**, **gêr**, **slop**, **cotwm**, **oraens**, etc. Il eût été, semble-t-il, plus exact de constater que certains de ces mots ont été **empruntés une seconde fois**, et sous une forme beaucoup plus proche de l'original : **bus**, **train**, **banc**, **giêrs**, **slop**, **cotton wool**, **orange**, etc., avec une prononciation calquée sur celle de l'anglais, ce qui a pour conséquence la création de nouvelles oppositions phonologiques (c'est le cas notamment pour **slop** et **orange**). Nous ne suivons donc pas l'auteur lorsqu'il semble dire que les calques qui émaillent les conversations et le dialogue des romans gallois ne sont pas un phénomène affectant la structure. Ces calques (qui correspondent aux "anglicismes" du canadien français) affectent au contraire au premier chef l'ensemble des cadres syntaxiques du gallois, qui forment, on l'admettra, une partie du système au moins aussi importante que la morphologie, sinon plus. Autrement dit, l'emprunt lexical n'est pas en lui-même un facteur de décomposition, s'il peut s'assimiler facilement dans le système phonologique et joue souvent à l'avantage de la langue emprunteuse, surtout dans le domaine technique. Au contraire, que l'on puisse maintenant dire en gallois "Beth a ydyh chw'n **edrych am** ?" (What are you looking for), — ce qui équivaldrait en français à dire "Qu'est-ce que vous regardez pour ?" — est autrement significatif qu'un simple emprunt; c'est l'utilisation de termes autochtones (**edrych**, **am**) à des fins étrangères, non prévues dans l'économie du système; c'est l'éclatement de cadres traditionnels qui présage, si la tendance doit s'accuser avec le temps, une désagrégation complète du gallois dans le système anglais. On arrive à cette contradiction cocasse (ou tragique) : **pour bien comprendre le gallois, il faut savoir l'anglais !** Il y a là (pp. 231-235) d'excellentes notations du phénomène d'asymptote par lequel deux langues en présence se rapprochent constamment jusqu'à un point de rupture, à partir duquel l'appareil syntagmatique de la langue la plus affectée ne "porte" plus, s'effondre, et l'ensemble des locuteurs se trouvent parler un dialecte nouveau de la langue d'attraction.

Une description phonologique du gallois et de l'anglo-gallois est alors donnée, succinctement, et on pourrait en discuter le détail, e.g. l'absence des affriquées dans le système gallois (**chain**, **jam**) par opposition à la palato-alvéolaire (**slop**, **siawns**); le tableau de la page 237 est incomplet et ne constitue pas l'inventaire des phonèmes et des allophones du gallois. Mais ce n'était pas là le propos principal de l'auteur, que l'on doit remercier pour la façon très objective dont il a conduit son exposé; celui-ci souffre malheureusement, en divers points, d'une rédaction française fautive, malgré les précautions prises à cet égard.

## ¶ THE OSLO CONGRESS : A CRITICAL REPORT

*William F. Mackey, Université Laval*

One of the most important international congresses of linguists was held during the week of August 4th this year in Oslo. It was the eighth since 1928 when the first international congress was held in The Hague.

In many ways — in its scope, its new vistas and its controversy — it was as important as the historic First Congress. It was also one of the biggest, with 538 delegates from 37 different countries.<sup>1</sup>

Among these were the following delegates from Canada :

Geoffrey L. Bursill-Hall (British Columbia), George M. Cowan (Summer Institute of linguistics), Jean-Denis Gendron (Laval), William F. Mackey (Laval), Ernest Reinhold (Alberta), Jaroslav B. Rudnyckij (Manitoba), and Roch Valin (Laval). J.-P. Vinay was detained at the last moment.

Each day of the congress was divided in three sessions — I. Individual Communications (9-10 a.m.), II The Plenary Session (10.15 a.m.-1 p.m.), and III Section Meetings (3-5.30 p.m.). Delegates of the Canadian Linguistic Association read the following papers : **Problems of Onomastic Bilingualism in Canada and the U.S.A.** (J. B. Rudnyckij), **Application à un problème particulier — l'imparfait latin et ses emplois — de la méthode d'analyse pratiquée en psycho-systématique du langage** (Roch Valin). **The theory of Structural Gradations** (W. F. Mackey).

Other individual papers covered such topics as : **Vowel harmony in some West African Languages** (Uldall), **Comparative Athapaskan** (Hoijer), **Limitations of the substitution test** (Quirk), **Relativity of vocabulary ratios** (Herdan), **Semantic approach to syntactic analysis** (Hatcher), **Contribution of comparative semasiology to historical linguistics** (Reifler), **Les dravidiens et l'Afrique** (Homburger), **The so-called relative motivation in language** (Zawadowski), **Norm and usage in Late Old English** (Derolez), **L'indo-européen reconstruit** (Pisanil), **Lycien — Etrusque — Indo-européen** (Carnoy), **Visible and invisible speech** (Truby), **A six-parameter speech synthesizer** (Stevens), **Orthographic evidence for types of phonetic change** (Penzl), **A problem in structural phonology** (Dillon), **The glossematic idea of describing linguistic units by their relation only** (Siertsema), **The calculation of the parameters of morphological complexity** (Hamp), **Role of theoretical terms in linguistics** (Bar-Hillel), **Voice in Hittite** (Hahn), **Application of structural principles in the historical study of English** (Prins), **Aufgaben und Ergebnisse der Phonometrie** (Zwirner).

<sup>1</sup> Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Belgian Congo, Bulgaria, Canada, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Finland, German Democratic Republic, German Federal Republic, Ghana, Great Britain, Greece, Hong Kong, Hungary, India, Irish Republic, Italy, Israel, Japan, Lebanon, Norway, Poland, Rumania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, The Netherlands, Union of South Africa, U.S.S.R., the United States and Yugoslavia.

At the plenary sessions the discussions were based on the previously published reports of the rapporteurs supplemented by an oral introduction.

The topics discussed were :

**What can typological studies contribute to historical comparative linguistics ?** (Chairman : Benveniste, Rapporteur : Jakobson). **Distribution versus other criteria in linguistic analysis** (Fries, Diderichsen and Spang-Hanssen). **To what extent can meaning be said to be structured ?** (Hjelmslev, Wells).

The section meetings were devoted to the following topics, discussion of which was likewise based on the previously published reports of the rapporteurs and on their oral introductions : **Indo-European laryngeal theory** (Devoto, Martinet), **Mathematical linguistics** (Zwiler, Whatmough), **Unilingual dictionary definitions** (Jansson, Knudsen and Sommerfield), **Discoveries in Indo-European studies** (Knobloch and Griero, Kurylowicz, Lane, Tovar and Chadwick), **Speech analysis and synthesis** (Izui, Peterson and Fant), **Interpenetration of phonology, morphology and syntax** (Hammerich, Pike), **Machine Translation** (Bar-Hillel, Garvin, Yngve, Reifler), **Structural linguistics and dialect geography** (McIntosh, Doroszewski), **Native reaction as a criterion in linguistic analysis** (de Groot, Hoijer), **Applied linguistics** (Frei, Fries and Berry), **Languages in contact** (Mackey, Haugen).

As in most congresses, delegates attended not only to listen to papers but also to make personal contact with other delegates and to discuss their work with them. In this respect too the Oslo Congress was a success. There was hardly enough time during the free evenings to do all discussing one may have desired. The organizing committee, however, thoughtfully provided further opportunities in the form of four-day excursions to Bergen and to Trondheim. Although these were ostensibly for the purpose of seeing the country, they turned out for many to be as profitable linguistically as the congress itself, for they gave groups of linguists an opportunity of living and travelling together, with plenty of time for free discussion.

During the entire congress there was a display of linguistic publications which had appeared since the VII (London) Congress in 1952. Such Canadian publications as the **JCLA**, **Onomastica**, **Slavistica**, and the **Cahiers de linguistique structurale** were in evidence along with a rich display of books and periodicals from all over the world. The collection was evidence of the important advances of the past five years. This display of linguistic publications, inaugurated at the London Congress, was so useful that it should become a regular feature of future linguistic congresses. But linguists should be invited well in advance to send in copies of their publications.

Another suggestion for the Ninth Congress would be to have the topics distributed a year in advance so as to permit preparatory discussion in various national associations of linguists.

There is very little that one can criticize, however, on the organization of the Congress, which was done by a committee headed by Professor Alf Sommerfelt of the University of Oslo. The Oslo Committee are to be congratulated not only on their efficient organization of the Congress but also on their unforgettable hospitality. Thanks are also due to the Norwegian organizations which co-operated with the Committee, and to the national and municipal governments.

Linguists who have not had the good fortune to come to Oslo may well look forward to the publication of the Proceedings of the Congress with justified expectancy.  
Oslo, 19 August 1957.

## ¶ 7TH CONGRESS OF IFMLL IN HEIDELBERG

J. B. Rudnyckyj

Although the 7th Congress of the **International Federation for Modern Languages and Literatures (IFMLL)**, held in Heidelberg, Western Germany, from August 26 to August 30, 1957, was devoted entirely to a special task: "**Problems of style and form in the literature**", some papers dealt with linguistic problems or with those closely related to linguistics. One of the most provoking papers in this respect was that of Professor D. Cyževskij (formerly Harvard, now Heidelberg University) on **Lexis and style**, in which a synoptic survey of all respective problems was given and the tasks of the future research were discussed. Among papers dealing with linguistic aspects of the literary work were: D. Gerhardt: **Stil und Einfluss** (Aug. 27); Soloviev A. V.: **L'influence du haut style dans la poésie russe du XIX siècle**. (Aug. 27); Gmelin H.: **Die Sprache der Transzendenz in Dantes Paradiso** (Aug. 27); Blackall, E. A.: **The language of Sturm und Drang** (Aug. 28).

The Canadian delegation to the Congress consisted of two members: Prof. Ernest Reibold, University of Alberta, and Prof. J. B. Rudnyckyj, University of Manitoba. Besides the participation in discussions and other activities, one of the Canadian participants, J. B. Rudnyckyj, delivered a paper entitled **Literary functions of the proper name** in which a typology of the mentioned functions was presented, viz.: 1. with regard to the contents: a) quality, b) place, c) time; 2. with regard to the form: a) acoustic adaptation (alliteration), b) hapax legomena.

The Congress was held under the auspices of the University of Heidelberg and the Government of Baden-Württemberg. It was presided by Prof. R. W. Zandvoort, Groningen, and prepared by Prof. P. Böckmann, Heidelberg, Chairman of the Local Committee on Arrangements. The spirit and the organization of the Congress were excellent.



# LINGUISTICA CANADIANA

## A LINGUISTIC BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR 1957 & SUPPLEMENT FOR PREVIOUS YEARS

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\* On observera que dans la précédente chronique (*RACL* II.2 (1956): 80), cette rubrique figurait différemment: *Canadian French* / *Franco-Canadien*. Plusieurs membres se sont élevés contre l'appellation "franco-canadien", prétendant qu'elle ne correspondait pas à un usage vivant. D'où le changement dans le présent numéro; cette question de terminologie pourrait faire l'objet d'une discussion à un prochain congrès. JPV.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS JOURNAL  
 ABBREVIATIONS UTILISÉES DANS LA REVUE<sup>1</sup>



ANTH.	<i>Anthropologica</i> , Université d'Ottawa.
AS	<i>American Speech</i> , New York.
BHAC	<i>Bulletin of the Humanities Association of Canada</i> .
BRH	<i>Bulletin des Recherches Historiques</i> , Québec.
ClF	<i>La Classe de Français</i> , Paris.
CLS	<i>Cahiers de Linguistique structurale</i> , Québec.
CMLR	<i>Canadian Modern Language Review</i> , Toronto.
CSP	<i>Canadian Slavonic Papers</i> , Toronto.
ESEE	<i>Etudes Slaves et Est-Européennes</i> , Montréal.
Eskimo	Churchill, Man. (RR.PP. Oblats du Vicariat de la Baie d'Hudson).
FM	<i>Le Français Moderne</i> , Paris.
FR	<i>The French Review</i> , Madison, Wis.
JdT	<i>Journal des Traducteurs/Translators' Journal</i> , Montréal.
JCLA	<i>Journal of the Canadian Linguistic Association</i> (English abbreviation to be quoted with English text; cf. <i>RACL</i> ).
PADS	<i>Publications of the American Dialect Society</i> .
QQ	<i>Queen's Quarterly</i> , Kingston.
RACL	<i>Revue de l'Association Canadienne de Linguistique</i> (Sigle français à utiliser dans un contexte français, cf. <i>JCLA</i> ).
RCG	<i>Revue Canadienne de Géographie</i> , Montréal.
RUL	<i>Revue de l'Université Laval</i> , Québec.
Sl.	<i>Slavistica</i> , UVAN, Winnipeg.
SPF	<i>Publications de la Société du Parler français</i> , Québec.
TRSC	<i>Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada — Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada</i> , Ottawa.
UTQ	<i>University of Toronto Quarterly</i> , Toronto.
UVAN	<i>Publications of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences</i> , Winnipeg.
VF	<i>Vie Française</i> , Québec.
VL	<i>Vie et Langage</i> , Paris.
VK	<i>Vira y Kul'tura</i> , Winnipeg.

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations for journals not quoted above follow the style set in *Linguistic Bibliographies* published by the Permanent International Committee of Linguists (*Spectrum*, Utrecht) (Pour les abréviations des périodiques autres que ceux mentionnés ci-dessus, se conformer aux sigles des *Bibliographies linguistiques* publiées par le Comité international permanent des linguistes (*Spectrum*, Utrecht).

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